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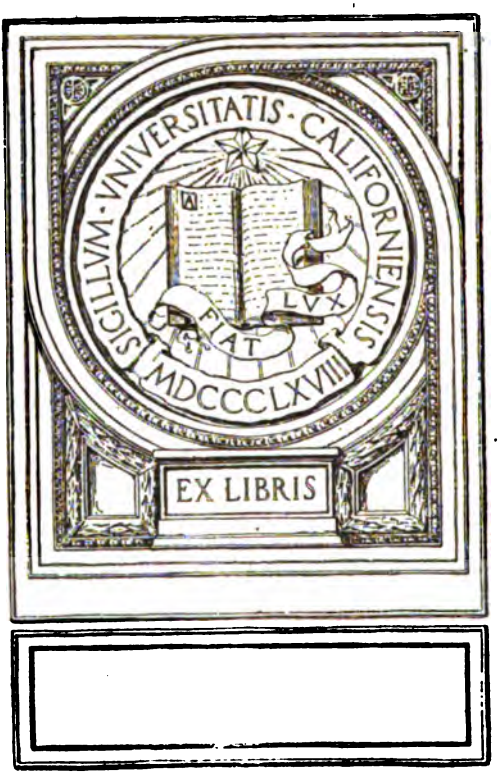


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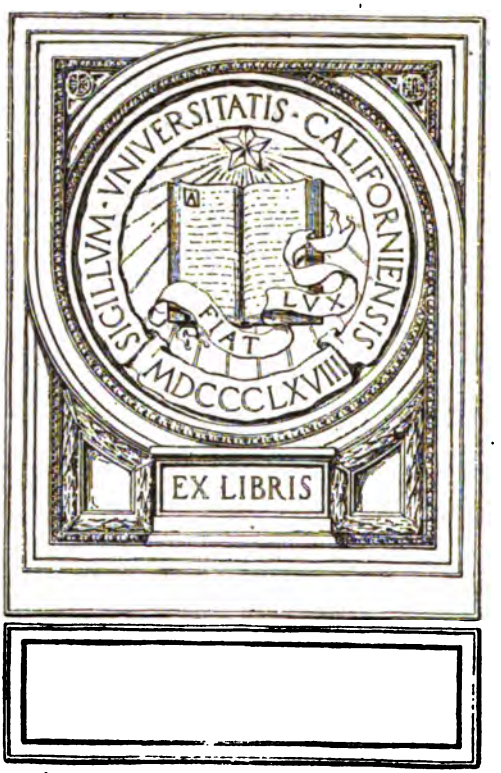


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# Archaeological Journal,

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## The Council of The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF

RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS & MONUMENTS

OF

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1904 Amedroz, H. F. 48 York Terrace, N.W.
1904 Anstruther-Gray, Major W, M.P. F.S.A. Kilmany, Cupar.
1910 Apperson, G. L., I.S.O. 97 Buckingham Road, Brighton.
1914 Archer, C. W. 29 Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, W.
1912 Archibald, J. Village Road, Church End, Finchley, N.
1903 Armytage, Sir G. J, Bart. D.L. F.S.A. Kirklees Park, Brighouse.
L 1908 Ashby, T, M.A. Litt.D. F.S.A. Valle Giulia, Rome, Italy.
L 1872 Ashcombe, The Lord, P.C. 17 Prince's Gate, S.W.
1906 Astley, Rev. H. J. D, M.A. Litt.D. East Rudham, King's Lynn.
1892 Auden, Rev. Prebendary T, M.A. F.S.A. Church Stretton.
1907 Avenell, George. 17 Worsley Road, Hampstead, N.W.

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L 1899 Bannerman, W. Bruce, F.S.A. F.G.S. 4 The Waldrons, Croydon.
1891 Barbour, A. H. F. 4 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
1885 Barlow, J. R. Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton.
1910 Barnard, Prof. F. P, M.A. F.S.A. Bilsby House, Alford. Lincs.
1891 Bartleet, Rev. Canon S. E, M.A. F.S.A. Gloucester.
1907 Bartleet, Rev. E. B, M.A. B.D. Much Wenlock.
L 1862 Barttelot, B. B. Ditton, Torquay.
1891 Bax, A. Ridley, F.S.A. 7 Cavendish Square, W.
L 1882 Baxter, W. E. 170 Church Street, Stoke Newington, N.
1887 Bell, W. Heward, F.S.A. Cleeve House, Seend, Melksham.
1910 Beloe, E. M, F.S.A. Chase Lodge, King's Lynn.
1910 Bengough, Major E. B. 44 Park Lane, W.
1909 Bentley-Rudd, S. Welby Gate, Grantham.
L 1906 Berkeley, R. V, F.S.A. Spetchley Park, Worcester.
L 1907 Berkeley, Mrs. Spetchley Park, Worcester.
1910 Berkeley, Miss. Spetchley Park, Worcester.

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1914 Bernoud, P. A. G.P.O. box 45, New York City, U.S.A
1914 Berry, James, F.S.A. F.R.C.S. 21 Wimpole Street, W.
L 1869 Bevan, A. T. Bessel's Green, Sevenoaks.
L 1903 Bilson, John, F.S.A. Hessle, Yorkshire.
1903 Birkmyre, Mrs. Henry. 67 Cadogan Gardens, S.W.
1900 Blackett, C. H. Rosapenna, McKinley Road, Bournemouth.
1901 Blagg, T. M, F.S.A. Caldecote, Newport Pagnell.
1915 Blair, C. Hunter. 32 Hawthorn Rd. Gosforth, Northumberland.
1890 Blakeway, G. S. Staniforth, Tuffley, Gloucester.
1910 Blathwayt, Rev. W. E, M.A. Dyrham, Chippenham.
1908 Blyth, Miss E. Ormond Avenue, Hampton-on-Thames.
1910 Boddington, H, junior. Strangeways Brewery, Manchester.
1910 Bolingbroke, L. G. The Strangers' Hall, Norwich.
1907 Bond, Francis, M.A. Stafford House, Duppas Road, Croydon.
1904 Bond, F. Bligh, F.R.I.B.A. 69 Plasturton Avenue, Cardiff.
1894 Booker, R. P. L, M.A. F.S.A. Eton College, Windsor.
1910 Bothamley, C. H, M.Sc. F.I.C. Weston-super-Mare.
1911 Bowen, Rev. Prebendary D, F.S.A. Monkton Priory, Pembroke.
1903 Boyson, A. P. 19 St. Helen's Place, E.C.
1889 Brabrook, Sir E, C.B. Dir.S.A. Langham House, Wallington, Surrey.
1899 Bradford, C. A, F.S.A. 4 Park Place, St. James' Street, S.W.
1913 Bradford, R. J, M.A. Hartley Mere, Ealing Common, W.
1895 Brakspear, Harold, F.S.A. Corsham, Wilts.
1890 Branford, H. M. 3 Broad Street Buildings, E.C.
L 1884 Braye, The Lord, c/o Messrs. Symons and Waters, Leamington.
1910 Brewis, W. P, F.S.A. Glenbrae, Jesmond Park, Newcastle.
1899 Brierley, G. M. Pyon House, Hereford.
1903 Brierley, W. H, F.S.A. 13 Lendal, York.
1903 Brown, Mrs. A. J. Castle Wigg, Whithorn, Wigtownshire.
1905 Brown, Thomas. 89 Holland Road, W.
1908 Brown, W, F.S.A. The Old House, Sowerby, Thirsk.
1913 Browne, Miss Ophelia. College Green, Worcester.
1903 Bruce-Clarke, Miss E. L. Oak Leigh, Eastbourne.
1907 Buckley, Rev. Canon. St. Luke's Vicarage, Victoria Docks, E.
1912 Buckley, G. G, M.D. Holly Bank, Manchester Road, Bury.
1894 Bulkeley-Owen, The Hon. Mrs. The Limes, Shrewsbury.
1911 Bull, F. W, F.S.A. Risdene, Newport Pagnell.
1910 Burder, A. W. N, F.S.A. Belcombe Court, Bradford-on-Avon.
1913 Burnard, Robert, F.S.A. Stoke, Teignmouth, Devon.
1914 Burne, S. A. H. 2 Northcote Place, Newcastle, Staffs.
1910 Bushell, Rev. W. D, M.A. F.S.A. The Hermitage, Harrow.
L 1893 Byrom, J. Woolfold, Bury, Lancashire.

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1912 Carlisle, Miss Sybil. 5 Princes Street, Cavendish Square, W.
1914 Cay, Arthur. Lyndhurst, Leigh Woods, Clifton, Bristol.

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1909 Cecil, Lady William. Didlington Hall, Stoke Ferry, Norfolk.
1913 Cemlyn-Jones, E. W. Brynbella, Penmaenmawr.
1908 Chanter, Rev. J. F, M.A. F.S.A. Parracombe, Devon.
1896 Chapman, H. Mapleton. St. Martin's Priory, Canterbury.
L 1882 Clark, Professor E. C, LL.D. F.S.A. Newnham House, Cambridge.
1891 Clark-Maxwell, Rev. Prebendary W. G, M.A. F.S.A. Bridgnorth.
1914 Clarke, Rev. A. E, M.A. South Leverton, Retford.
L 1875 Clarke, Somers, F.S.A. 35 St. James' Place, S.W.
1909 Clements, Miss Helen J. Atherstone Place, Lincoln.
1907 Clephan, R. Coltman, F.S.A. Marine House, Tynemouth.
1912 Clift, J. G. N. 8 Princes Street, Westminster, S.W.
1906 Conder, E, F.S.A. Conigree Court, Newent, Gloucester.
1910 Conway, Sir W. Martin, M.A. F.S.A. Allingham Castle, Maidstone.
1898 Cooke, Richard. The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.
1897 Cooper, Rev. T. S, M.A. F.S.A. Chiddingfold, Godalming.
1904 Corcoran, Miss J. R. Rotherfield Cottage, Bexhill-on-Sea.
1910 Cory-Wright, Sir A. C, M.A. J.P. 52 Mark Lane, E.C.
L 1910 Cory-Wright, D, M.A. J.P. Westcott, Dorking.
L 1889 Cowper, H. S, F.S.A. Loddenden Manor, Staplehurst, Kent.
1914 Cox, Rev. J. C, LL.D. F.S.A. 13 Longton Avenue, Sydenham.
1905 Cox, G. P. Stone House, Godalming.
1910 Cox, Mrs. Stone House, Godalming.
1891 Cozens-Smith, E. 16 Kensington Square, W.
1909 Cragg, W. A, J.P. Folkingham, Lincs.
1910 Cragg, Mrs. Folkingham, Lincs.
1894 Cranage, Rev. D. H. S, Litt.D. F.S.A. 8 Park Terrace, Cambridge.
L 1908 Craster, H. H. E, M.A. F.S.A. All Souls College, Oxford.
1905 Crofton, Rev. W. d'A, M.A. Codicote, Welwyn.
1907 Crosse, Miss K. M. The Yew House, Caterham Valley, Surrey.
1913 Crowther-Beynon, V. B, M.A. F.S.A. Westfield, Beckenham.
1911 Cuthbert, Captain J. H, D.S.O. Beaufront Castle, Hexham.

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1909 Davies, Rev. D. S, M.A. North Witham, Grantham.
1896 Davis, A. Randall, M.D. Oaklands, Hythe, Kent.
1895 Dawkins, Professor W. Boyd, M.A. D.Sc. F.S.A. F.R.S. F.G.S. Fallowfield House, Manchester.
1884 Day, Miss. Lorne House, Rochester.
1907 Deedes, Rev. Canon Cecil, M.A. 32 Little London, Chichester.
1914 de Cardonel-Lawson, Miss. 3 Ralston Street, Tedworth Sq. S.W.
1911 de Courcel, M. V. C. 20 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris, vi^e^, France.
1907 de Horne, Mrs. 3 Cumberland Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
1900 de Lafontaine, H. C, M.A. 49 Albert Court, S.W.
1907 Denison, S, F.S.A. Spenthorn, West Park, Leeds.
1913 Dewey, Rev. Stanley D. Moretonhampstead, Devon.

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L 1887 Dewick, Rev. E. S, M.A. F.S.A. F.G.S. 26 Oxford Square, W.
1909 Dibley, Mrs.
1883 Dillon, The Viscount, M.A. D.C.L. F.SA. Ditchley, Enstone.
1910 Dolby, Rev. R, M.A. Stewton, Louth, Lincs.
1915 Dorling, Rev. E. E, M.A. F.S.A. 62 Mortlake Road, Kew.
1913 Downes, A. J. Dalbury, Chepstow Road, Croydon.
1899 Downing, Frederick. 12 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
1913 Drake, F. Maurice. The Three Gables, The Close, Exeter.
1903 Druce, G. C, F.S.A. Ravenscar, The Downs, Wimbledon, S.W.
L 1910 Druitt, Herbert. Christchurch, Hants.
1906 Duke, Rev. R. E. H. Maltby, Alford, Lincs.
1896 Duncan, L. L, M.V.O. F.S.A. Rosslair, Lingard's Road, Lewisham, S.E.
1912 Dunn, John. 25 Montagu Square, W.

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L 1884 Eckersley, J. C, M.A. Carlton Manor, Yeadon, Leeds.
L 1893 Edwardes, T. Dyer. Prinknash Park, Painswick, Stroud.
1898 Eeles, F. C. 202 Grange Loan, Edinburgh.
1907 Eld, Rev. F. J, M.A. F.S.A. Polstead, Colchester.
1915 Ellis, H. D. 7 Roland Gardens, S.W.
1893 Ely, Talfourd, D.Lit. F.S.A. 92 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.
1889 Emerson, Sir W. 2 Grosvenor Mansions, 76 Victoria Street, S.W.
1887 Evans, Sir A. J, Litt.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Youlbury, Abingdon.
1909 Evans, C. E. Nailsea Court, Nailsea, Bristol.
1913 Every, Richard. Marlands, Exeter.

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1900 Fagan, General C. S. F. Feltrim, Topsham Road, Exeter.
1894 Farquharson, Major Victor, F.S.A. 31 Chester Street, S.W.
1898 Farrer, William. Hall Garth, near Carnforth.
1913 Fellows, L. D. Pulham S.M.M. Rectory, Harleston, Norfolk.
1865 Felton, W. V. Sandgate, Pulborough, Sussex.
1914 Fisher, H. W. 3 Ralston Street, Tedworth Square, S.W.
1885 Fison, E. H. Stoke House, Ipswich.
1908 Fletcher, Lieut.-Colonel H. A, C.V.O. 17 Victoria Square, S.W.
1906 Floyer, Rev. J. Kestell, M.A. F.S.A. Esher.
1909 Forster, R. H, M.A. LL.B. F.S.A. The Chantry, Bovington, Herts.
1912 Foster, Rev. J, D.C.L. Tathwell, Louth, Lincs.
1900 Fountain, F. 44 Croom's Hill, Greenwich, S.E.
1910 Fowler, Sir J. K, C.V.O. M.D. D.Sc. 35 Clarges Street, W.
1913 Fox, G. J. B. 23 Bellevue Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.
L 1860 Freshfield, E, LL.D. D.L. F.S.A. 31 Old Jewry, E.C.
1912 Fry, Rev. H. K, M.A. Higham Ferrers.
L 1898 Fryer, A. C, M.A. Ph.D. F.S.A. 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
1913 Fryer, Miss. 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.

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1909 Garbett, Miss. H. L. E. East Keal Hall, Spilsby, Lincs.
1897 Garstin, J. R, M.A. D.L. F.S.A. Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
1909 Gibbons, J. H, A.R.I.B.A. 8 Wellington Rd. St. John's Wood, N.W.
1909 Gibson, J. H, M.R.C.S. L.R.C.P. Lansdowne Road, Aldershot.
1913 Giles, Rev. A. Linzee, M.A. The Vicarage, Great Malvern.
1912 Gill, H, M.S.A. 48 Parliament Street, Nottingham.
1900 Giuseppi, M. S, F.S.A. 94 Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon.
1909 Glascodine, C. H. 7 Abingdon Gardens, W.
1914 Glover, Miss K. S. 37 Chester Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
1914 Glover, Miss M. M. Lane End, Kingsthorpe, Northampton.
1891 Goddard, Rev. E. H, M.A. Clyffe Vicarage, Swindon.
1911 Godfrey, W. H, F.S.A. 11 Carteret Street, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
1908 Golland, Rev. C. E, M.A. Glasson, Lancs.
1910 Good, Colonel H. N. B. Sutton Courtenay Abbey, Abingdon.
1910 Good, Mrs. Sutton Courtenay Abbey, Abingdon.
L 1911 Goodbody, Mrs. F. W. 6 Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W.
1879 Gosselin-Grimshawe, H. R. H. Bengeo Hall, Hertford.
1911 Gotch, J. A, F.S.A. Weekley Rise, Kettering.
1898 Grafton, Miss. Wintercombe, Eastnor, Ledbury.
1914 Gray, J. c/o Union of London & Smith's Bank, Sheffield.
1910 Green, Mrs. H. Egerton. 35 Eccleston Square, S.W.
1895 Green, H. J. 31 Castle Meadow, Norwich.
1909 Greenwood, J. A, LL.M. Funtington House, near Chichester.
1899 Greg, Mrs. Coles, Buntingford, Herts.
1902 Greg, T. T, M.A. F.S.A. Coles, Buntingford, Herts.
1907 Grimston, Mrs. W. E. Earls Colne Place, Earls Colne, Essex.
Guildhall Library, London, E.C.
1909 Guilford, E. L, M.A. 27 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.
1913 Gurney, Miss A. 69 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.

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1900 Hale-Hilton, Mrs. 60 Montagu Square, W.
L 1886 Hale-Hilton, W. 60 Montagu Square, W.
1909 Hall, Rev. H. W. Cherry Willingham, Lincoln.
1907 Hamilton, Mrs. Walter. 16 Elms Road, Clapham Common, S.W.
1913 Hannah, Ian C, M.A. Fernroyd, Forest Row, Sussex.
1907 Harding, Miss. 9 Bradmore Road, Oxford.
1909 Harding, Miss E. 9 Bradmore Road, Oxford.
1904 Hardinge-Tyler, G. D, M.A. F.S.A. Great Missenden.
L 1870 Harland, H. S, F.S.A. 8 Arundel Terrace, Brighton.
1913 Harries-Jones, E. H, M.D. 439 Wellingborough Rd. Northampton.
1902 Harrison, Rev. F. W. Eldon Place, Patricroft, Manchester.
1908 Harvey, Alfred, M.B. Darlingscote, Shipston-on-Stour.
L 1885 Haverfield, Professor F. J, LL.D. D.Litt. Winshields, Headington Hill, Oxford.

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1911 Hawley, Lieut.-Col. W, F.S.A. Figheldean, Salisbury.
1914 Hayter, A. G. K, M.A. 39 Netherhall Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
L 1911 Heaton, Rev. H. H, M.A. 4 Vincent Square, S.W.
1908 Hemp, Wilfrid J, F.S.A. Minshull, High Wycombe.
1907 Heyworth, Mrs. Lawrence. Colne Priory, Earls Colne, Essex
1898 Hill, Rev. A. Du Boulay, M.A. East Bridgeford, Nottingham.
1909 Hitchcock, H. Willoughby Hall, Grantham.
1891 Hobson, W. H. 130 High Street, Maryport.
1914 Hoby, J. C. J, Mus.Bac. 11 Ordnance Terrace, Chatham.
1903 Hodgson, J. C, M.A. F.S.A. Abbey Cottage, Alnwick.
1913 Holman, H. W, F.S.A. 4 Lloyds Avenue, E.C.
1914 Hollins, H. E. Uplands, Mansfield.
1913 Holden, Rev. A. J. Theddlethorpe, Louth, Lincs.
1911 Home, Gordon. 43 Gloucester Street, Warwick Square, S.W.
1883 Hope, Sir William St. John, Litt.D. D.C.L. Clare, Suffolk.
1883 Hope, Lady St. John. Clare, Suffolk.
1909 Hopwood, C. H, F.S.A. Rookwood Road, Stamford Hill, N.
L 1875 Horner, Sir J. F. F, K.C.V.O. The Manor House, Mells, Frome.
1910 Houghton, F. T. S, M.A. F.G.S. 188 Hagley Road, Birmingham.
1909 Howard, F. E. 24 Polstead Road, Oxford.
1907 Howard-Flanders, W. Tyle Hall, Latchingdon, Maldon.
1894 Howorth, Sir Henry H, K.C.I.E. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A. (*President*). 45 Lexham Gardens, S.W.
1905 Howorth, Humfrey N, B.A. 45 Lexham Gardens, S.W.
1904 Howorth, R. B, B.A. F.S.A. 9 Belvedere Grove, Wimbledon.
1911 Hubbard, G, F.S.A. 27 West Chiselhurst Park, Eltham.
1885 Hudd, A. E, F.S.A. 108 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
L 1890 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A. F.S.A. 78 Church Street, Lancaster.
1901 Hulme, Miss. 57 Albany Street, Regent's Park, N.W.

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1907 Jackson, C. J, F.S.A. 6 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.
1910 Jackson, Rev. E, M.A. Gilmorton, Lutterworth.
L 1885 Jackson, Rev. Canon Vincent, M.A. Bottesford, Nottingham.
L 1908 Jaques, Leonard. Easby House, Richmond, Yorks.
L 1878 James, Edmund. 16 Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.
1910 Jeddere-Fisher, Mrs. Apsleytown, East Grinstead.
1910 Johnston, C. E. Little Offley, Hitchin.
1901 Johnston, Philip M, F.S.A. Sussex Lodge, Champion Hill, S.E.
1910 Jones, Miss Constance. Girton College, Cambridge.
L 1878 Jones, Herbert, F.S.A. 42 Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.

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1911 Keasbey, H. G, F.S.A. c/o Messrs. Brown Shipley & Co, 123 Pall Mall, S.W.
1895 Kemplay, Miss. 48 Leinster Gardens, W.
1874 Keyser, C. E, M.A. F.S.A. Aldermaston Court, Reading.

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L 1888 Knill, Sir J, Bart. South Vale House, Blackheath, S.E.
1895 Knowles, W. H, F.S.A. 25 Collingwood Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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1909 Lafond, M. Jean. 7 Rue Pouchet, Rouen, France.
1909 Lambert, F, M.A. Guildhall Museum, E.C.
L 1914 Lambert, Uvedale, B.A. South Park Farm, Bletchingley, Surrey.
1912 Langton, Mrs. Teeton Hall, Northampton.
1906 Larkworthy, Colonel E. W, V.D. Worcester.
1899 Layard, Miss. Rookwood, Fonnereau Road, Ipswich.
1911 Le Couteur, J. D. Rosedale, Beaumont, Jersey.
1914 Lee, Rev. J. F. V. Cranford Rectory, Middlesex.
L 1887 Legg, J. Wickham, M.D. F.S.A. 4 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
1891 Le Gros, Gervaise, M.A. F.S.A. Seafield, Jersey.
1913 Le Gros, Miss I. J. Seafield, Jersey.
1906 Leicester, H. A. The Whitstones, Worcester.
1910 Lethaby, W. R, F.S.A. 111 Inverness Terrace, W.
1907 Lewer, H. W, F.S.A. Priors, Loughton, Essex.
L 1913 Lindley, Miss Julia. 74 Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.
1896 Livett, Rev. G. M, B.A. F.S.A. Wateringbury, Maidstone
1899 Lloyd, A. H. 28 Church Street, Manchester.
1914 Lloyd, Prof. J. E. Gwaen Deg, Bangor.
L 1910 Lockyer, Lady. 16 Penywern Road, S.W.
1886 Long, Colonel W, C.M.G. Newton House, Clevedon, Somerset.
L 1913 Longden, G. A. Draycott Lodge, nr. Derby.
1884 Longden, Henry. 115 Wymering Mansions, Maida Vale, W.
1893 Longden, Mrs. 115 Wymering Mansions, Maida Vale, W.
1910 Longfield, Miss. Belmont, High Halstow, Rochester.
1909 Lott, H. C. 10 Carlisle Parade, Hastings.
1909 Lovegrove, E. W, M.A. The School, Ruthin.
1913 Lowndes, Mrs. Bellenden, Exeter.
L 1910 Lumsden, Miss. Warren Cottage, Cranleigh, Surrey.
1895 Lyell, A. H, M.A. F.S.A. 9 Cranley Gardens, S.W.
1903 Lynam, Charles, F.S.A. Stoke-on-Trent.

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1898 Macbean, R. Baillie, M.D. 51 Mount Avenue, Ealing, W.
1913 McEwen, E. S. Richmond House, Hayling Island, Hants.
L 1887 Malet, Colonel H. Racketts, Hythe, Hants.
1909 Mann, E. A. 11 Park Avenue South, Crouch End, N.
1910 Manning, P, M.A. F.S.A. 300 Banbury Road, Oxford.
1904 Marshall, George, F.S.A. The Manor House, Breinton, Hereford.
1912 Masefield, C. J. B. Hanger Hill, Cheadle, Staffs.
1899 Master, C. H. Exbury House, Exbury, Southampton.
1905 May, L. M. 3 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
1905 Medlicott, W. B. 18 Campden Hill Gardens, W.

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1913 Mee, C. J. C. Oldbury Hall, Atherstone, Warwickshire.
1913 Mee, Mrs. Oldbury Hall, Atherstone, Warwickshire.
1883 Michell, W. G, M.A. Hillmorton Road, Rugby.
1907 Micklethwaite, Miss. 48 Campden Hill Court, Kensington, W.
1902 Miller, W. E. 9 St. Petersburgh Place, W.
1899 Milne, Miss. The Trees, Church Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
L 1912 Minet, Miss Susan. Hadham Hall, Little Hadham, Herts.
1909 Monckton, E. P, M.A. F.S.A. Laundimer House, Oundle.
1909 Morgan, Lieut.-Colonel L. W. Brynbriallu, Swansea.
1913 Morier, Miss. 12 Cornwall Mansions, Kensington Court, W.
1912 Morris, R. B, M.A. LL.B. 24 Bramham Gardens, S.W.
L 1913 Morrison, Walter. 77 Cromwell Road, S.W.
1910 Moss, Rev. Prebendary H. W, M.A. Highfield Park, nr. Oxford.
1908 Mosse, H. R, M.D. 29 Strawberry Hill Road, Twickenham.
L 1884 Mottram, J. The Birches, 21 Bracondale, Norwich.
1898 Munro, Robert, M.A. M.D. LL.D. Elmbank, Largs, Ayrshire.
1911 Mylne, Rev. Sir R. S, Bart. B.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A. c/o S. O. Martin, Esq. Broadway Library, Hammersmith, W.

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1910 Nelson, Philip, M.D. F.S.A. Beechwood, Calderstones, Liverpool.
L 1890 Nesham, R. 40 Poynder's Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
1911 Nicholl, Iltyd B, F.S.A. The Ham, Llantwit Major.
L 1883 Niven, W, F.S.A. Marlow Place, Great Marlow.
1898 Nixon, Miss. 43 Galgate, Barnard Castle.
1905 Norman, Philip, LL.D. V.P.S.A. 45 Evelyn Gardens, S.W.
L 1883 Northumberland, The Duke of, K.G. P.C. F.S.A. Alnwick Castle.
1898 Nuttall, J. R, F.R. Hist. S. Thornfield, Lancaster.

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1913 Odell, Rev. F. J. Lapford, Morchard Bishop, Devon.
1905 Oke, Alfred W, B.A. LL.M. F.S.A. 32 Denmark Villas, Hove.
1888 Oliver, Andrew. 5 Queen's Gardens, W.
1906 Oliver, E. Ward. New Place, Lingfield, Surrey.
1914 Oswald, Felix, D.Sc. Probate Registry, Nottingham.

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1897 Palmer, F. J. Morton, M.B. F.S.A. Longfellow Road, Worthing.
1914 Parker, Mrs. Christopher. Faulkbourne Hall, Witham, Essex.
1909 Parker, Colonel J. W. R, C.B. F.S.A. Browsholme Hall, Clitheroe.
1910 Parkin, Mrs. 52 Earl's Court Square, S.W.
1909 Parnell, Rev. F, M.A. Sunny Dene, Oxted, Surrey.
1913 Parry, H. Lloyd. Town Clerk's Office, Exeter.
1908 Pavey, Rev. A. K, M.A. Brixworth, Northampton.

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1890 Pearce, W, J.P. F.S.A. Perrott House, Pershore.
1896 Peers, C. R, M.A. Sec. S.A. 14 Lansdowne Road, Wimbledon.
1912 Perowne, E. S. M, F.S.A. 20 Randolph Road, Maida Hill, N.W.
1913 Perry, Miss M. P. 13 Trelawney Road, Cotham, Bristol.
L 1883 Petrie, W. M. F, D.C.L. Litt.D. F.R.S. University College, W.C.
L 1886 Phelps, Rev. L. R, M.A. Oriel College, Oxford.
1912 Pick, S. Perkins, F.R.I.B.A. 2 Salisbury Road, Leicester.
1903 Plowman, H, F.S.A. 23 Steele's Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
1895 Ponting, C. E, F.S.A. Wye House, Marlborough.
1913 Port, C. G. J, F.S.A. 1 West Mansion, Worthing.
1900 Porter, J. H. Ealdham, 103 High Road, Lee, S.E.
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1910 Pritchard, Miss E. M. 55 Highbury New Park, N.
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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

# THE CARVINGS OF MEDIAEVAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.[1]

By EDITH K. PRIDEAUX.

As a record of one section of the decorative detail of Exeter cathedral church, this paper aims at giving a full list of all the musical instruments that appear in the carvings there, with photographs of each; and, as it would seem somewhat incomplete to present them without any reference to the historical developments of such instruments, I have compiled from various sources, especially from the Rev. F. Galpin's comprehensive book,[2] the notes that follow; and have also added illustrations from other contemporary mediaeval buildings, comparison with which appeared to me to increase the interest of the collection. In this last matter I have been most generously assisted by Mr. F. H. Crossley, who put at my disposal a large number of his splendid photographs from Beverley and Exeter, and other material in his possession, both for reference and reproduction.

Since writing these notes I have also had the immense advantage of thorough criticism from Mr. Galpin, which has not only ensured far greater accuracy than could otherwise have been claimed, but has also added many points of great and uncommon interest.

As far as possible the carvings are noticed in chronological order.

That Exeter cathedral church should display a large number of musicians and their instruments in its decoration is not surprising. It was originally dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary as well as of St. Peter; and although the former dedication is now disused, the whole decorative scheme, internal and external, centres round the Coronation and Enthronement of the Virgin.[3]

[1] Read before the Institute, 6th May, 1914.

[2] *Old English Instruments of Music*, in 'The Antiquary's Books,' Methuen, 2nd edition, 1912.

[3] E. K. Prideaux, *Figure-sculpture of the west front of Exeter Cathedral*, *Archaeol. Journ.* lxix, pp. 8, 9, 25, 28.

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With these scenes the angelic quire and minstrels are intimately associated; they have always been represented as the special attendants on the Virgin at her coronation, and all music and musicians appear to have been under her protection.[1]

Thus we find the bosses, corbels, and pre-eminently the minstrels' gallery, showing a number and variety of musical instruments hardly equalled even by the sculptures of the minster at Beverley, or those of Manchester collegiate church. And besides these important specimens, belonging to the original decoration of the building itself, there also occur many others on mediaeval monuments there which, though not actually related to its decorative scheme, may appropriately be noticed in the same connexion.

The earliest specimen at Exeter of a musician is a relief carving on one of the misericords (no. 15) representing a man playing the pipe and tabor (plate 1, no. 1). This work is of the thirteenth century, and is the only example of so early a date in the church. In it is shown the most usual position of the two instruments when in use, the pipe being played by the left hand, and the right engaged in beating the tabor which is attached by a string to the neck or shoulder of the performer. In this example the man is kneeling, but that attitude is merely due to the convenience of adapting the carving to the cramped position it occupies. Of this we see a still more emphatic example in another contemporary pipe and tabor player carved in the spandrel of a two-light window in the tower of St. Mary the Virgin at Higham Ferrers, Northants. where the performer is painfully contorted to fit the available space (plate 1, no. 2). In reality the performer always stood.

The pipe and tabor were instruments of but small repute musically, chiefly used by strolling minstrels to accompany rustic dancing, tumbling, and other revelries.[2] It has been said that we never find them associated with the celestial quires, nor with the musicians attendant upon the enthroned Virgin. Nevertheless in the thirteenth-century 'angel quire' at Lincoln these in-

[1] Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 50.

[2] Milton, *Comus*, l. 173, refers to the 'gamesome pipe' in this connexion.

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NO. I. THE PIPE AND TABOR ON A MISERICORD AT EXETER.

NO. 2. THE PIPE AND TABOR ON A WINDOW-HEAD AT HIGHAM FERRERS.

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NO. 1.

NO. 2.

HARP AND RYBYBE ON BOSSES IN THE PRESBYTERY VAULT AT EXETER.

NO. 3.

NO. 4.

INDETERMINATE BOWED INSTRUMENTS ON CORBELS AT EXETER.

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struments appear in the hands of one of the great angels carved in the spandrels, and it may be that their degradation to exclusively baser uses was a later development.

Our thirteenth-century representation of the tabor at Exeter does not show the 'snare' or vibrating cord usually stretched across the parchment of one head, but it is indicated in the Higham Ferrers example, and a tabor on the fourteenth-century stalls of Lincoln minster shows it clearly.

The pipe used with the tabor was necessarily small to facilitate its manipulation by one hand. It had only three holes, two in front and one for the thumb behind; but being over a foot long there could be produced from it, by means of the harmonics, a scale of more than an octave.[1]

The kettledrum was nearly allied to the tabor, and plate XIII, no. 7, shows an almost contemporary carving from the nave corbel-table of the church of St. Mary, Adderbury, Oxon. These little drums, called 'nakers' were used in pairs, suspended in front of the performer by a strap round the shoulders or waist, and were beaten with small sticks as are the modern kettledrums. They show the 'snare' referred to above. Here, as with other instruments, they are in an unusual position, simply for the purpose of displaying them within the limits of the frieze in which they occur.[2] Nakers are believed to have been introduced into England from the east by the Crusaders. In 1304 there is a record of 'Yanino le Nakerer' in the list of king Edward I's minstrels; Edward III also had one, and the band that announced his entry into Calais in 1347 included 'nacaires.'[3]

The next musicians at Exeter border on the fourteenth century, and occur in the bosses of the presbytery high-vault. This vault was completed before 1304 (in which year the glazing of the east window and clerestory windows of the presbytery is recorded in the fabric rolls),[4]

[1] An ancient pipe and tabor are now in the possession of Mr. Cecil Sharp in sufficiently good condition to allow of their still being used.

[2] The word *nakers* is a corruption of the Arabic word *nacareb*, the name of a small eastern hand-drum: see Galpin, op. cit. p. 249.

[3] Galpin, op. cit. p. 250.

[4] Archdeacon Freeman, *The Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 23, 122.

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and it is therefore probable that the actual carving of the bosses had been executed in the workshop a year or two earlier, before they were placed as key-stones in the vault. Among them are two musicians, one with a harp, and the other with an early form of viol.

The harpist is a very graceful seated angel surrounded by foliage and playing on a small harp of five strings (plate II, no. 1). The harp was regarded as specially appropriated to the accompaniment of sacred music, and is found in innumerable illustrations of, and allusions to, the music of the celestial quires. Probably in its position here, in the presbytery vault, the angelic harpist represents the choral angels who are usually shown around the feet of the crowned and enthroned Madonna in heaven, for it is the next figure-subject boss to that of the Coronation of the Virgin which occupies the place of honour over the high altar.[1]

The harp, which is of very ancient eastern origin, had been known in Britain, as distinct from the 'rote,' or 'crot,' before the sixth century. The poem *Beowulf*, which dates from that period, refers to it as an established and popular instrument of rejoicing.[2] In these early days its strings were of untanned hide or twisted horse-hair, and the latter continued in use in Wales even as late as the end of the twelfth century; but in Ireland, where it was enthusiastically adopted and developed in the eleventh century, these were soon changed for metal strings, of gold, silver and a kind of white bronze. In England gut became the ordinary material throughout the middle ages. The number of strings varied at different times, and apparently harps were variously strung at the same time. The English harp of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries usually had from eight to eighteen strings,[3] the development being from few to many, from the two five-stringed harps sculptured on the twelfth-century prior's doorway at Ely, to the seventeen strings of the fifteenth-century angel's harp at Manchester. This

[1] Harp is by some derived from a root word *harpan*, to pluck.

[2] See line 89: 'þaer was hearpan sweg' (there was the music of harps). Line 2458: 'Nis þaer hearpan sweg' (there was no sound of harp). Line 3023: "Nalles haerpan sweg' (not any sound of harps). And in W. J. Sedgefield's glossary to this poem, the word *gamenwuden* (literally 'wood of joy' or 'of rejoicing') is given as meaning harp.

[3] Galpin, op. cit. p. 16.

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order, however, is not always followed consistently, and in contemporary carvings we find much variety. Thus in Lincoln angel quire, slightly earlier than this Exeter five-stringed example, two harpists occur, one with an instrument of ten strings, and the other with one of sixteen strings. At St. Mary's, Adderbury, Oxon. an example somewhat later than this Exeter boss (plate XIII, no. 10) also shows ten strings, and yet in the nave of Beverley minster there again appears a harp of only five strings.

The other very early fourteenth-century minstrel in Exeter presbytery vault is performing upon a large instrument of the viol order, with a bow of embarassingly unwieldy proportions (plate II, no. 2). Though wingless this is another angel, as is shown by the bare feet, a feature given in mediaeval art only to the three Persons of the Trinity, the apostles, all angels, and St. John Baptist. The figure and drapery are very graceful and the carving beautifully finished, in which it differs greatly from the later specimens in the church. One feels sure that either the carver was a performer on this instrument himself, or had a living model to work from. The four fine strings of the instrument and the fingers of the stopping hand are perfectly shown. The latter is accurately placed, with the fourth finger stretched to its utmost, and the attitude of the bowing hand indicates the pliant wrist to be seen in a trained violinist at the present day.

The instrument here shown is a 'rybybe,' or 'rubebe,' one of the early forms of the viol family. All of these were precursors, and indeed ancestors, of the modern violin, and all trace back, through the south of Europe, to the east, whence is derived the use of all bowed instruments.

The two main branches of this large family are distinguished from one another by some very marked characteristics. One of these is the shape of the back.

In the class to which the 'rybybe' belongs there were no separate sides, or ribs as they are properly called; but the convex back fitted right on to the oval front. The little rebec and the 'geige' also had this convex back, but they were more pear-shaped than oval in outline, their

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necks being merely narrowed elongations of the body, whereas the 'rybybe' had a distinct, separate neck joined into the body. All these three also had no incurvation of the sides, which must have greatly limited the freedom of the bowing.

The other chief branch of the viol family had flat backs, and consequently side ribs, and were incurved in outline somewhere near the middle, sometimes only slightly, and sometimes with a very pronounced waist. This class is found illustrated quite as early as the convex-backed class, examples of both being given by Mr. Galpin from twelfth-century sources in England. Therefore, although the flat-backed and waisted type is that to which the modern violin is most obviously allied, it would be an error to suppose that this form succeeded to that of the rybybe and rebec, or was developed from it. Evidently both kinds were in use at the same time, and the angelic rybybe-player in the Exeter boss is contemporary with many examples that could be quoted of the waisted, flat-backed form. One rybybe, very similar to this specimen, is carved in the hands of an angel in the angel quire at Lincoln, slightly earlier in date than the Exeter boss.

It seems probable that there were rather indeterminate forms, intermediate between the two, simultaneously in use. This we may infer from the specimens surviving in sculpture, such as we find later at Exeter in the minstrels' gallery (plate VII, no. 4), and at Beverley minster on the reredos staircase (plate VIII, no. 1), and at the back of the reredos (plate VIII, no. 2) also fourteenth-century work, and again in the nave of the same minster. In all of these the ribs and flat back are seen, but the waist is either absent, or so slightly developed as to be a mere suggestion of such a feature. The outline assumed by the front or table of the instrument also was variable; for, as these illustrations show, an oval-faced outline and one almost square are represented contemporaneously, while among the fifteenth-century angel-musicians at Manchester is one playing on a viol perfectly square in shape, constructed with sides and a flat back.

The more common and popular little rebec, which was a smaller three-stringed instrument of the same convex-

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backed class as the rybybe, ran a much longer career. Its larger relative disappeared in favour of the waisted and ribbed instruments, probably in consequence of the greater facility in bowing which they afforded.

We have no rebec at Exeter of so early a date as the rybybe in the vault, but the mutilated remains of one are still visible in the hands of an angel on the west front dating from some fifty or more years later on in the fourteenth century. Again, a very late version is seen on the canopy of bishop Bronescombe's tomb, far on in the fifteenth century (plate XVIII, no. 1).

In the fourteenth-century corbel-table of St. Mary's, Adderbury, Oxfordshire, a true rebec is shown, with the pear-shaped body and well-marked sound holes (plate XIII, no. 5). Of course, in this case, the performer is holding it in so elevated a position only to afford a complete view of the instrument in the limited space at the sculptor's disposal, for it never was and never could be played when held in that fashion.

Our next Exeter musicians are two minstrels on the vaulting-shaft corbels, dating between 1315 and 1325, both playing bowed instruments of the indeterminate kind mentioned above. Either faulty carving, or the existence of several varieties, gives these two instruments a vagueness that forbids their definite classification. They are hardly as small and tapering as the typical rebec, nor have they the incurved sides of the viol proper; the shape of their backs is not discernible since they are carved in such slight relief that they are not detached from the garments of the performers.[1]

The earlier, by a few years only (plate II, no. 3), is in the hands of an angel, again wingless, who occupies the lower part of a corbel in the quire on which the Coronation of the Virgin is represented above; the bare feet of the figure again identify it as one of the celestial minstrels. It is not uncommon in mediaeval art to find angels thus represented as wingless.

The other corbel musician in the nave (plate II, no. 4) is no angel, but a very mundane strolling minstrel, duly shod, and wearing a spangled gown, and with a humorous and

[1] Mr. Galpin classifies these as offshoots of the rybybe.

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merry face; he is accompanying on his instrument the feats of the tumbler shown above. This pair have been described as 'St. Cecilia playing the crwth with a grotesque listener,'[1] as St. Cicely drawing down the angels from heaven by the sweetness of her performance, and by another author as Salome dancing (i.e. tumbling) before Herod. These imaginative descriptions seem quite unsupported by the figures themselves. Such a pair were very familiar at all merry-makings in the middle ages; but their appearance here leads one to suspect a reference to some more ecclesiastical subject, a suspicion strengthened when we recall that in the series of twelve musicians shown in the late twelfth-century bas-reliefs formerly in the cloisters of the abbey of Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, a similar pair are included. The legend which is most vividly called to mind by them is a charming twelfth-century metrical French version transcribed into English prose by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed.[2]

There is one other musician to be noted on a boss in the high-vault of the cathedral nave. It is later than those just described, and earlier than those of the minstrels' gallery, this part of the vault having been finished about 1343 or 1345. It is again a harpist (plate III, no. 1), but this time a priest instead of an angel; and there are good reasons for believing that it represents St. Dunstan, whose skill on the harp is a well-known feature in the traditions connected with him.[3] The harp on which he is performing is much larger than that of the angel in the presbytery vault, but the number of its strings is not indicated.

The next step chronologically in the study of Exeter's musical instruments is to the minstrels' gallery (plate IV), which there is good reason to believe was erected in 1353, some twenty-five or thirty years later than the corbels we have been considering.[4] There is structural evidence that it was an afterthought, the church having been completed, excepting the west-front sculpture, under

[1] Wm. Cotton, *Bosses and Corbels of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter's, Exeter.*

[2] *Our Lady's Tumbler*, Dent, 1900.

[3] E. K. Prideaux and G. R. Holt Shafto, *Bosses and Corbels of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 176.

[4] Archdeacon Freeman, *Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 77 and 78.

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NO. I. HARP ON A BOSS IN THE NAVE VAULT AT EXETER.

NO. 2. CITOLE ON THE WEST PORCH OF ST. MARY'S, HIGHAM FERRERS.

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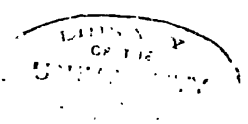

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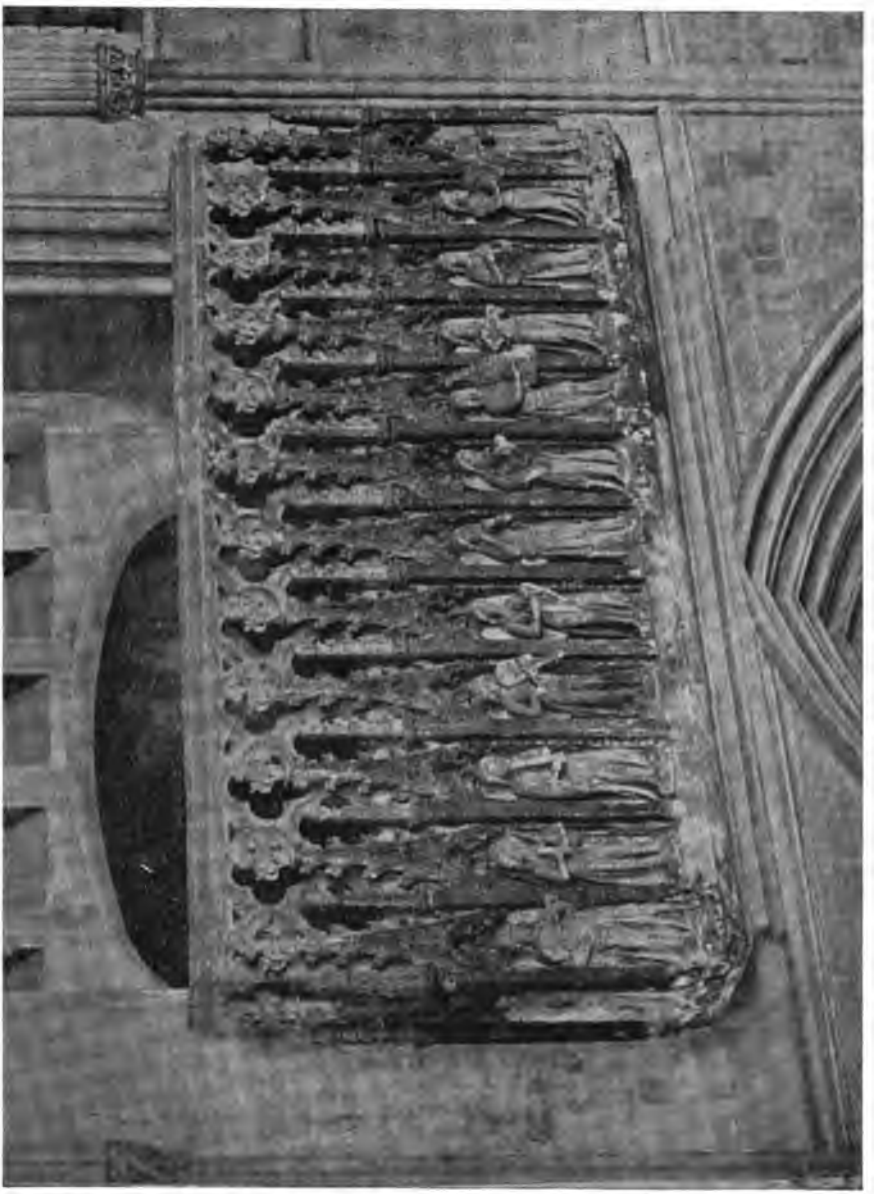

MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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bishop Graunson about four years previously. The gallery occupies the place of the triforium arcade in the fifth bay of the north side of the nave, and its name describes the scheme of its decoration no less than the purpose for which it was built.

Primarily, the purpose of this gallery, and of similar galleries in other cathedral and parish churches, as at Westminster, Malmesbury, and Winchester, seems to have been specially connected with the once important ceremony of the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday, when the Sacrament was carried in procession, and passed outside the church. When the procession returned, it paused by the closed door, while one half of the quire within, and the other half without, sang in antiphon. Those inside were usually stationed above the entrance, either on a temporary platform or in a gallery erected for such purposes. The position of the Exeter gallery, above the north nave entrance, points to its having been specially devoted to this ceremonial use.[1] In an age such as the fourteenth century, when decorative sculpture was so prominent a feature in English architecture, and more especially in a church dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, it is very natural that the decoration of the gallery should take the appropriate form of a series of typical celestial minstrels such as we have here. The now empty niches of the vaulting-shaft corbels on either side of the gallery originally held images of the Virgin and St. Peter, and the connexion between the Virgin and quires of angels and minstrels was no doubt borne in mind in choosing the subject for its decoration.

It should be observed by the way that the sculpture of these figures is very inferior to most of that with which the church is enriched. Any one who compares the original figures on the west front, some of which must be actually contemporary with these, will be struck by the contrast. There is, it is true, much grace and vigour in the action of some of these minstrels,[2] but the detail is very careless and sketchy in comparison to that

[1] Francis Bond, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 53.

[2] Prof. E. S. Prior remarks concerning the figures of this gallery that they 'preserved more of early mediaeval restraint and beauty than much contemporary sculpture in other parts of England' (*English Mediaeval Figure Sculpture*).

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still left to us in the west-front figures. Whether the reason for this was want of funds we can hardly tell. If archdeacon Freeman's conclusions from the fabric rolls are correct, the sum spent upon this piece of work was £46, equivalent to more than £400 of our money, a price which seems rather low for the production of fourteen large figures and fourteen very rich canopies (including colouring and gilding), besides the structural work of building the gallery in a place not originally designed for it. So, very possibly, such small and troublesome details as fingers, strings, sound-holes, etc. were scarcely covered by the sum to be expended, and consequently were occasionally omitted.

It must not be supposed that this assemblage of musicians carved on the front of the Exeter minstrels' gallery represents in any way a mediaeval *orchestra* or band, who united to play in concert those instruments on which they were performers. At the time to which these figures belong such combinations of instruments were unknown. When concerted music was in its infancy, and bands, or *noises* as they were then termed, were first formed of several instruments, these combined instruments were all of one kind, either all strings, or all shawms (as we should say nowadays 'wood-wind'), or all trumpets and drums.[1] Even as late as 1561, an orchestra performing interludes in the first English tragedy *Gorboduc* was divided into five distinct sections, of violins, cornetts, flutes, hautboys, and drums and fifes, each section performing separately. The only exception we note to this divided use of instruments in combined performance was the common and popular union of the pipe and tabor, of which some account has already been given.

Of these distinct groups of instruments the brass and drums were dedicated to military and royal purposes.[2] On the other hand, the stringed class was accepted as worthy of performing *sacred* music together, though, as time went on, the church admitted small gong-like cymbals

[1] See Galpin, op. cit. chapter 15, on *The Consort*.

[2] Milton, in *Paradise Lost*, i, 540, refers to these distinctive characteristics where he describes, 'All the while, sonorous metal blowing *martial* sounds,' and again (ibid. ii, 515) 'With trumpets' *regal* sound.'

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into their stringed accompaniments of religious worship, as a help in marking the time of the plain-song.[1]

Each group of instruments playing together was called 'a consort,' and when in later times the combination of instruments from two or more of the distinct groups began to be used, this was called 'a broken consort,' in contra-distinction to the combination of instruments belonging to one group only, which were known as 'whole consorts.' The earliest record we have of 'a broken consort' (a nearer approach to an orchestra than 'a whole consort') is in an early fifteenth-century manuscript where strings (i.e. the viol) are combined with wind (i.e. the recorder), in playing at a feast.

Consequently, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such a series of musicians and instruments as those we have here merely represented all, or nearly all, the *kinds* of instruments then available for music of every description.

The two figures on the east and west returns of the gallery have no instruments; therefore the musical series includes twelve angels only.[2] Two illustrations of each are given, one from the eastward and the other from the westward, so that no details may be lost.

Beginning at the westernmost end, the first figure is the angel of the citole[3] (plate v, no. 1). This instrument, often also called the citterne, must not be confounded with the gittern, which also occurs in this gallery series (plate ix, no. 9). Although both are held in much the

[1] It is interesting to read in some extracts from an old MS. diary of c. 1634 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 58, part i, pp. 479-487) in which a certain lieutenant of Norwich records the sights and sounds that strike him on a walking tour through England, how at Exeter he finds that 'viols and other sweet instruments' were still in use in the cathedral besides the organ; and he also remarks that these, 'with the tunable voices and the rare organist together made a melodious and heavenly harmony able to ravish the hearer's ears.' He had previously described the 'delicate, rich and lofty organ which had more addition than any other, as fair pipes of an extraordinary length, and of the bigness of a man's thigh.'

[2] Contrary to the earlier and more usual mediaeval custom of representing angels as sexless beings, in this series they are undoubtedly intended for female minstrels, their wings and bare feet being the only characteristics that mark them unquestionably as angelic beings.

[3] The name citole has hitherto generally been applied to a different kind of stringed instrument, of the psaltery class, but Mr. Galpin considers this to have been an error, and he brings evidence to show that the citole and the citterne were identical instruments, but that *citole* was the earlier form of the name only: *Old English Instruments of Music*, p. 26.

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same position, and both are played with a plectrum held in the right hand, there were essential differences between the two instruments at all times and in all stages of their developments. One of these main differences was that in the gittern (at any rate when it first appeared in England), the strings were of gut, while those of the citole were of wire. And also the form of the bodies of the two instruments was dissimilar in one striking particular. Both had flat backs, and necks flush with the front of the body running out from its centre, and ending in the peg-box where the strings were fastened and tuned. In the citole this neck was, as in stringed instruments of the present day, what is called 'free,' that is to say, it did not continue flush from the back as it did from the front, but was reduced to scarcely one third of the thickness of the body; while in the gittern the neck was practically one with the body both back and front, of equal depth, though reduced in width.

The citole had four strings, and the peg-box generally ended in a quaint little carved head, as does this one here, though the stone is too worn to show this distinctly.[1] The strings were stopped by the fingers of the left hand, while the right hand used the plectrum to pluck them. This little contrivance was a small rod of ivory, horn, quill, or metal, and, where the strings were of wire, as in the citole, it saved the fingers a great deal of painful friction. It is still employed with the modern zither, and was used also for the psaltery, and, later, for the spinet and harpsichord, although in these two last its action was regulated by keys and it was no longer held and worked directly in the hand. The tone of strings vibrated by the use of the plectrum is always thinner and more metallic than when either the fingers for plucking (as in the harp), or the hammers for striking (as in the pianoforte), or a bow (as in a great number of stringed instruments), are used for setting them in vibration.

The citole, as also the gittern, was apparently first brought into England some time in the thirteenth century, and both seem to have originated among the eastern

[1] Carter gives a drawing, in his *Specimens of Sculpture* of one from Great Malvern priory in which the carved human head is very well shown. This specimen would be later than our Exeter example by at least fifty years.

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nations of Asia Minor, whence, under the generic name of cithara, the Greeks and Romans adopted these and other instruments of the same class. Then in mediaeval times, through the wandering minstrels and troubadours from Italy and Provence, they were introduced into England and there rapidly became popular. The citole was an instrument considered worthy of the court bands, and is also frequently found, as at Exeter, in ecclesiastical carvings. There is a mutilated thirteenth-century carving of a citole in the west porch of Higham Ferrers church, where the performer's feet are in the stocks, but he is allowed to retain his instrument as a consolation during his punishment (plate III, no. 2). Examples of the fourteenth century, contemporary with the Exeter specimen, are to be seen at Worcester and Hereford, and on the fourteenth-century Braunche brass in the church of St. Margaret, King's Lynn, Norfolk.[1] Two also occur in the nave of Beverley minster, and on the misericords of rather late date at Carlisle and Chester also citoles are carved in the hands of angels. In later years the citole took a less honoured position, as an instrument for the entertainment of customers and guests in barbers' shops and taverns.

The lute, an instrument popular at a later date, is distinguished from the citole, or citterne, by having a more or less convex back, gut strings, and, usually, the head turned *backwards;* also it was played with the fingers only.[2]

The second celestial minstrel is valiantly performing upon the homely and somewhat intractable bagpipes (plate v, no. 2). Nowadays we are apt to consider this instrument as exclusively a native of Scotland, but this is quite a mistake as regards its early history. The most remote traces discovered of it are among the eastern tribes of Asia, whose early westward movement (commonly known as the Celtic migration) brought the use of the bagpipes to Europe, through Greece and Rome. It is not certain by what route it came to these islands, whether by the more northern branch of the same Celtic

[1] Illustrated in Carter's *Specimens of Painting, etc.* plate lxxii.

[2] See p. 30.

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migration direct to Britain and Gaul, or whether by the Roman occupation of Britain.[1] Once arrived, it seems to have maintained a firm popularity in this country for many centuries. We find it illustrated in numerous English manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, usually in rather humble and popular connexions; but that it was also esteemed worthy of a place among royal instruments is shown by the records of bagpipers being amongst the court musicians in the reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Henry VIII, and by four sets of bagpipes being included in the collection of musical instruments belonging to Henry VIII.[2] In France also they were included among the instruments of the band of the 'Grande Écurie' in the time of Louis XIV, and used in the court performances.

There were several kinds of bagpipes, the two main classes being generally known to us as the Irish and the Scotch. The essential difference between these is that in the Irish instrument the wind-bag is supplied with wind by means of small bellows worked under the performer's arm, whence they are known in Erse as 'uilleann,' or elbow pipes; while in the Scotch variety a short pipe from the mouth of the performer supplies the wind to the wind-bag. The bagpipes carried by the celestial minstrel here are of the latter class, and of the type in common use in the fourteenth century, having the drone-pipe added, which previously to that time had not been a part of this instrument. In a representation of several musicians in the Loutrell psalter, belonging to the first half of the fourteenth century, the bagpipe is almost exactly similar to that at Exeter, carrying a flag attached to the drone-pipe. At various stages of its later history a second and third drone-pipe were added, all being carried over the shoulder. The wind-bag was often made of the whole skin of a kid.

Contemporary with the Exeter specimen are two carvings of bagpipers in Beverley minster, one on the reredos (plate VI, no. 1), and the other on the Percy tomb (plate VI, no. 2). In the latter the wind-bag is made of

[1] It was in use in the Roman army, and a bronze figure of a bagpiper was discovered in the excavations of the old Roman station of Richborough in Kent. Galpin, op. cit. p. 174.

[2] Galpin, op. cit. p. 175.

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INDIVIDUAL FIGURES FROM THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER, SHOWN FROM EITHER SIDE.

NO. 1. CITOLE. NO. 2. BAGPIPES. NO. 3. WHISTLE-FLUTE OR SINGLE RECORDER.



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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 1. BAGPIPES FROM THE REREDOS, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. BAGPIPES FROM THE PERCY TOMB, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

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a small, entire pig-skin with the head used for the insertion of the mouth-pipe, and the forelegs and feet left intact. Another contemporary specimen is seen among the musicians of the Adderbury frieze (plate XII, no. 3 and fig. 1).

This frieze affords valuable material for comparison with the minstrels' gallery at Exeter, not only as being contemporary with it, but also as including so many of the same instruments. Hitherto it does not seem to have been used to illustrate the many valuable works on musical instruments that we possess (plates XII and XIII). The frieze takes the place architecturally of the usual corbel-table, and runs on both sides of the nave. The series of musicians appears on the north side, the rest being filled with more ordinary grotesques. Of a very different type from the angelic series in the minstrels' gallery, this company at first sight looks more like revellers at a 'church ale,' such as are represented on a somewhat similar frieze carved outside the church of St. John, Cirencester,[1] though these latter are about a century later in date. The Adderbury musicians, however, though secular in appearance, and rough in execution, probably represent the 'universal praise' offered to the Creator through the Church. They occur in an order which can be classified; it embraces all kinds of music, and was doubtless adopted to carry out this idea of universal praise. Thus, church music comes first in the frieze (i.e. the most eastward portion) with the portative organ; dance music next, with the timbrel, bagpipes, symphony, and rebec; then comes military music, indicated by two kinds of trumpets and the nakers or kettledrums; and, lastly, minstrelsy, as represented by psaltery and harp, the recognised accompaniments of the voice.

This frieze is in fact a somewhat homely, mediaeval translation into sculpture of the 150th psalm; and it is quite consistent with the aim of the Church in the middle ages of bringing under her supervision and patronage the whole life of the people, including their recreations, that such a crude and literal rendering of the Psalmist's exhortations should be found in such a position.

[1] Illustrated in Carter, *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting in England* (1792).

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It is among the group of dance-music instruments that we here meet the bagpiper in full blast, labouring hard, with cheeks much distended and head bent to the task. As far as we can see, his instrument has neither drone-pipe nor flag.

In these very mundane-looking musicians of Adderbury it is specially observable that the attitudes are often most unnatural, governed as they are both by the cramped space allotted to the figures, and by the carver's conscientious determination to exhibit as much as possible of the figure and his instrument, regardless of perspective. Thus, here, the left arm of the piper would in reality be by his side,

Fig. 1. (See plate XII.)
BAGPIPES AT ADDERBURY.

with elbow dropped, and its exalted and very awkward position is adopted merely to afford an opportunity of showing that the musician used the left hand for one part of the stopping of the holes of the 'chanter' pipe. In other cases, as in the rebec, nakers, and psaltery players, the instrument also is similarly misplaced, and for the same reason.

There is a bagpiper among the nine enamels of musicians represented on the crook of William of Wykeham's crozier,[1] a beautiful specimen of fourteenth-century work; and throughout this and later centuries also bagpipes frequently occur in ecclesiastical carvings.[2]

[1] Now in New College, Oxford.

[2] As in the nave of Beverley minster; at Manchester, both the Irish and Scotch varieties; again in Exeter in the fifteenth century; and on the frieze of St. John's church, Cirencester, in the fifteenth century. At Ripon a fifteenth-century misericord shows a well-carved group of a pig playing the bagpipes, to which two piglets are dancing.

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*To face page 17.*

INDIVIDUAL FIGURES FROM THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER, SHOWN FROM EITHER SIDE.

NO. 4. VIOL. NO. 5. HARP. NO. 6. JEWS' HARP.

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The next angel in the minstrels' gallery (plate v, no. 3) is performing on the whistle-flute, or fipple-flute, which became known some fifty years later as the single recorder. It is also called the 'vertical flute' to distinguish it from the transverse, or German flute.[1]

This instrument was much in vogue during the fourteenth century, though, indeed, it was known and illustrated as early as the twelfth,[2] and is seen in its double form, in the thirteenth century, in the hands of one of the spandrel angels in the angel quire at Lincoln. It continued in use on into the eighteenth century, when, however, its form was much altered and developed. Originally it consisted of a tube slightly graduated from the small upper end for the mouth to the lower extremity, which sometimes opened out into more or less of a bell. This tube, or pipe, was not furnished with a reed, like a hautboy, but had a whistle-mouth, very imperfectly shown here, which is still, in modern times, represented by the familiar flageolet. It had a varying number of holes for the fingering, but in this specimen and in other early ones they are not many. Double recorders, or whistle-flutes, were also very popular, and must have been rather difficult to play, as the two pipes, sometimes uniting in one mouth-piece, and sometimes furnished with two, had to be fingered simultaneously, one hand for each. Presumably the results were agreeable, as Milton speaks with praise of 'flutes and soft recorders.'[3]

Our next instrument (plate vii, no. 4) is probably intended for the viol, that later development already described[4] in which the flat back, ribs, and imperfect waist, has superseded the convex back and oval form of the rybybe and rebec. The specimen here shown have unfortunately been in the hands of an ignorant restorer and thereby received characteristics belonging to no other instrument of its class. It is, I believe, the only one of the minstrel gallery series that has so suffered,

[1] The recorder in its more modern form was often known as the 'flute-a-bec,' the mouthpiece being the *beak*, and also as the 'English flute,' from its great popularity in this country. An example of a fifteenth-century single recorder is seen at Manchester.

[2] Galpin, op. cit. pp. 139, 140.

[3] *Paradise Lost*, i, 551.

[4] See p. 6.

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and as far as is visible the body is still left untouched; but at the end of an unduly elongated neck,[1] there has been supplied a ridiculously massive scroll turned backwards, a unique invention of the repairing sculptor. Apart from this mistake, which leaves the original form of the head a matter of conjecture, this viol would seem to belong to the indeterminate class already referred to,[2] for it possesses the flat back and ribs, distinctive features of the viol, without, however, the incurvation, or waist, which was universally adopted for it at a slightly later period. The omission of the sound-holes noticeable here can only be due to the inaccuracy of the carver, as they were essential to all varieties of this class of instrument. Four strings only are shown, but the early viols usually had five, whilst rebecs had only three, and the rybybe four, arranged in pairs. Two contemporary examples of viols from the reredos and Percy tomb in Beverley minster show, on one, four strings only (plate VIII, no. 2), and five on the other (plate VIII, no. 1); and there is a rather later one in Lincoln quire stalls (c. 1370) which seems also to have only four strings, though otherwise quite orthodox, with waist, ribs and flat back. In these cases the fifth string, which was only a 'bourdon,' or drone-string, may merely be invisible owing to its position beneath the others, where it was often placed.

Of the harp, which occupies the fifth place among the angelic minstrels' instruments (plate VII, no. 5) there is not much to add to what has already been said.[3] The carving here is too rough and imperfect to show the strings; but slight indications of the pegs show it to have been intended for one with eight strings.

The harpist in the contemporary Adderbury frieze (plate XIII, no. 10) is a far more animated figure, and though

[1] The unusual length of this neck does not seem to be without parallel, for we see an instance of it in a drawing of the brass in the church of St. Margaret, King's Lynn, Norfolk, to the memory of Robert Braunche (died 1364) and his two wives, in which the viol is strikingly similar in appearance to that in the hands of our minstrels' gallery angel, even to the length of the neck which is fully two-thirds the length of the body; the absurdly heavy, turned-back scroll of course does not appear in the brass.

[2] See above, p. 6.

[3] See above, pp. 4, 5.

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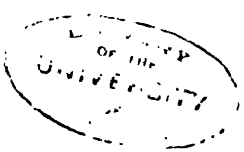

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. I. VIOL ON THE STAIRCASE, PERCY TOMB, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. VIOL AT THE BACK OF THE REREDOS, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

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he holds up his ten-stringed harp in an unnatural position to ensure the whole of it being visible, the attitude of his right hand is full of real vigour, and compares very favourably with the stiff and cramped hands of the Exeter minstrel.[1]

The sixth minstrel in the Exeter gallery (plate VII, no. 6) for some unknown reason is taller than the rest. This is certainly not on account of the size or importance of the instrument, for, although it has now entirely disappeared, there is no doubt whatever, from the action of the hands, that it was a Jews' harp!

Belonging, under somewhat varied forms, to most nations and most periods, this very primitive instrument can yet scarcely claim, one would think, to be more than a mere toy, and is hardly worthy of a place among the angelic instruments. But this is not the only instance of its appearance in such good company, for Mr. Galpin tells us that it is seen in the hands of an angel-performer in the rich French enamels with which the crozier of William of Wykeham is decorated.

It is not a harp in any sense but that of the *plucking* of the single vibrating tongue with the finger, its variety of notes depending entirely on the variation in size and shape of the performer's mouth behind the vibrator. It was formerly known as the 'Jews' *trumpe*,' and this title probably refers to the facts that, as in the open notes of the trumpet, the notes produced are harmonics, i.e. the natural series of sounds resultant from any given note.[2]

It is surprising to read that there was once a great performer on the Jews' harp; but in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*[3] there is an account of how, in 1827 and 1828, a

[1] In connexion with harps and other *plucked*, not *bowed*, stringed instruments, the most interesting study of their varieties can be made from the magnificent sculptures above the main doorway of the great Romanesque church of Santiago de Compostela in Spain, of which a fine cast may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum at Kensington. Although of so early a date as 1188, the grace and beauty of the figures of the four-and-twenty elders seated 'round about the throne' are wonderful; and the number of different plucked instruments in their hands, to carry out the idea of their having 'every one of them harps' (Rev. iv and v) is astonishing. The true harp occurs only four times.

[2] As to the distinctive word *Jews'* in both cases, there is no reason to imagine that it has any connexion with the Hebrew nation, and the most reasonable derivation seems to be a corruption of the Dutch word *Jeudgtrompe*, meaning a child's trumpet.

[3] Articles *Jews' Harp* and *Eulenstein*.

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talented Saxon, Charles Eulenstein, gave concerts in London and Scotland at which no instrument but the Jews' harp was heard, and he the sole performer. He used sixteen of them, of various sizes and pitches, by which means he obtained a compass of four octaves; and sometimes he performed skilfully on two at a time, thus adding harmonies to the extensive melodies he rendered. This ingenious musician, to counteract the painful effects on his teeth of the metal vibrations, had eventually to call to his aid the equal ingenuity of a dentist, who, by devising a glutinous covering for the teeth, restored to the performer the full and painless use of his extraordinary powers.

The next instrument of our Exeter series is the only example of the brass family appearing here (plate IX, no. 7). It is a trumpet of the early straight type, common before the form more distinctively known as the clarion was introduced, in which latter the tube is crooked and folded upwards and again downwards. Its illustration in English manuscripts begins in the thirteenth century, but it is referred to long before that in the eleventh century, and a carving of this early straight form appears on the twelfth-century prior's doorway at Ely, and another in Lincoln's angel quire of the thirteenth century. As of course everyone is aware, in many forms it is still indispensable in every full orchestra. From this old straight form all modern folded trumpets have been evolved.

Undoubtedly the mutilated instrument in the hands of the Adderbury musician (plate XIII, no. 6) is a short, straight trumpet of the same kind as the Exeter specimen. We may note in both examples the characteristic puffing out of the cheeks, which in those days was considered indispensable to the production of trumpet notes.

Contemporary with this short straight trumpet was a much longer instrument of the same class, known as the buzine, of which a somewhat mutilated specimen occurs in the Adderbury frieze (plate XIII, no. 8), but Exeter does not provide an example. It is, however, so intimately connected with the short straight trumpet of the minstrels' gallery that a few words on its chief characteristics will

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not be out of place here. It is believed to have been introduced from the east by the Crusaders, and an interesting confirmation of this is found in the device on the banner seen depending from the one at Adderbury. It bears a coat of arms consisting apparently of a cross pommée in the centre and four smaller ones in the four corners. This device, argent, five crosses pommée or, was borne by the crusader kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, 'a solitary violation of the heraldic law that metal cannot be placed upon metal.'[1]

Banners thus hung from trumpets were commonly in use in the middle ages, and are illustrated in Spanish fourteenth-century and French fifteenth-century manuscripts. The tube of this long buzine, as also of some extended forms of the small straight trumpet, was made in several portions jointed together, each joint being covered by a ferule, as is clearly seen here, although the portion nearest to the mouth of the performer is missing.

The old French buzines or 'buisines' of the Trouvères were often made of wood, of leather, and brass, and are illustrated on old French manuscripts.[2] Many illustrations of it also occur in Italian works of art, and in the enamels of William of Wykeham's crozier it is twice seen in the hands of angels. The buzine was the forerunner of the modern trombone, which first appeared among us before the fourteenth century as the sackbut, now one of the most important and perfect instruments in the orchestra.[3]

The next neighbour to the trumpet in the Exeter gallery is one of even deeper interest (plate IX, no. 8) belonging to the great family of instruments ranging from this modest portable specimen to the vast modern organ with its overwhelming combinations of sound, the development of which forms one of the most

[1] Boutell's *Heraldry* (1890), with additions by S. T. Aveling, ch. vii, pp. 38, 42, 43.

[2] The name in France seems to be traceable back to the Roman *buccina*, or military trumpet.

[3] The sliding-tube principle on which it is constructed is expressed in the old name sackbut, which, Mr. Galpin tells us, was derived from the Spanish *sacar*, to draw, and *buche*, a tube or bag.

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fascinating chapters in musical history. It would be quite out of the question to enter upon so large a subject here, but the distinctive features of this fourteenth-century portative organ must be described.

Small, *keyed* organs of various construction are known, from the existence of specimens, to have been in use among the Greeks and Romans as early as the second century B.C. One of this period, from the ruins of Carthage, had moreover a system of *continuous* wind-supply which in principle is similar to that now in use, though not produced by the same means. And in the Talmud, which dates from the second century A.D. an organ is mentioned (the magrepha) which was played upon by means of a key-board. But the keyboard for organs in England, and in fact in Europe generally, was not known until re-invented, or re-discovered, in the twelfth century; and it was in the humble form we see here that the discovery was first applied.

Church organs of considerable size, but without keyboards, were in use in England as early as the seventh century, but these were all very complicated, noisy and clumsy, and in the records of the great Winchester instrument, made in the tenth century, we find that the labour of two organists simultaneously, and 'seventy strong men' for the very numerous bellows, was required to produce a performance on this elaborate instrument.

The simple construction, portability, and modest tone of the little organ shown at Exeter in a short time made it a very popular instrument, and in its keyboard is found the principle, developed later into such wonderful results, by which one performer could control the vast instruments now so familiar. The action of this early keyboard was applied somewhat later, on a larger scale, to the positive organ,[1] a larger instrument, thus named on account of its being placed, or 'posed,' on the ground, and this keyboard action remained in use in these larger organs till the seventeenth century.[2]

[1] See plate XIX.

[2] As a matter of some interest to Exeter people, it may here be mentioned that, according to Mr. Galpin, a fine specimen of an English regal (a more fully developed portative organ) exists at Atholl castle dated 1650. On the bellows are painted the initials J. L. in all probability those of John Loosemore, of Exeter, who constructed the great cathedral organ of that day, famous for its double diapasons.

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PLATE IX.



INDIVIDUAL FIGURES FROM THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER, SHOWN FROM EITHER SIDE.

NO. 7. TRUMPET. NO. 8. PORTATIVE ORGAN. NO. 9. CITTERN.

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As regards the little portative organ, we may notice that, although here the minstrel uses the right hand for the keyboard and the left for the bellows at the back, which is the most usual position, it is not always so portrayed; in several instances the position is reversed.[1] Generally the bellows were single, but sometimes, as in this case and in that seen among the fifteenth-century Manchester carvings, they were divided into two, so that by working them alternately the supply of air might be uninterrupted. The row of pipes was sometimes single, sometimes double, and the number seems to have varied considerably, ranging from eight to sixteen. This Exeter specimen has a double row, but it is not in reference to this detail that the organ is termed either 'single' or 'double.'[2]

The portative organ must have been heavy and fatiguing to use. Its weight was partly borne by a strap passed round the performer's neck; occasionally also it is shown as resting on the knees of a seated player, as in the fourteenth-century manuscript at Trinity College already referred to, and in the sixteenth-century paintings of the heavenly quire by Gaudenzio Ferrari, in the dome of the church at Saronno, near Milan.

Notwithstanding its unwieldiness, it became a great favourite with travelling minstrels, and was even used at rustic dances and revels. It is, however, probably as the representative of church music that it appears in the Adderbury corbel-table, though the specimen is rather a small one, and from its position it is not possible to determine whether it has the single or the double row of pipes (plate XII, no. 1). In the specimen from the fourteenth-century vault of the Percy tomb in Beverley minster (plate XI, no. 1) it is evidently being used as an accompaniment to the performer's voice. It was in

[1] As in the fourteenth-century Loutrell psalter, and in a group on the fourteenth-century Percy tomb in Beverley minster, and also in a fourteenth-century MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge.

[2] The explanation of these terms has been a matter of much uncertainty and discussion, and will be found exhaustively dealt with in the appendix of Mr. Galpin's book. Also it appears, the familiar old expression, 'a *payre* of organs' did not refer to the double row of pipes, nor to any specific part of the mechanism, but was simply intended as a translation of the Latin word *organa*, the plural of *organum*, and was applied specially to this musical instrument on account of the complexity of its machinery.

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use also at the higher-class merry-makings at court, and several 'payre' are mentioned among the musical instruments in the inventory of Henry VIII's 'household stuffe and other implements.' It is represented among the angels enamelled on Wykeham's crozier, we shall meet with it again in Exeter,[1] and a still later example occurs on the fifteenth-century frieze of St. John's church, Cirencester.

The ninth angel is performing on the gittern (plate IX, no. 9), the precursor of the modern guitar. Mention has already been made of this in connexion with the citole or citterne,[2] from which it must be carefully distinguished. In the gittern, the neck is a continuation of the body of *equal thickness* throughout its whole length, though narrower. For this reason a large round hole was bored in the massive neck about halfway down its length, for the insertion of the thumb, which thus steadied the hand while leaving it free to stop the strings. The plectrum in the right hand, for plucking the gut strings, is also very clearly visible here, but the sound-hole, or holes, are omitted merely from inaccuracy in the carving, as in the case of the viol.

Mr. Galpin illustrates an actual specimen of a fourteenth-century gittern preserved at Warwick castle,[3] of which a facsimile may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is about two feet long, has four strings, and is very richly decorated with carving. The Exeter gittern seems also to have four strings, though they are not very clear. The six strings we associate with the guitar were introduced into England with the Spanish guitar in the sixteenth century, and this instrument, in which the plectrum was discarded for the fingers, in time entirely superseded the mediaeval gittern. The gittern in its day had been a most popular instrument among both high and low, especially as an accompaniment to the voice, before the lute became the fashionable instrument for that purpose.

There is a fine example of an early gittern in the hands

[1] plate xvii, no. 2.
[2] see above, pp. 11, 12.
[3] op. cit. plate vii.

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INDIVIDUAL FIGURES FROM THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, EXETER, SHOWN FROM EITHER SIDE.

NO. 10. SHAWM. NO. 11. TIMBREL. NO. 12. CYMBALS.

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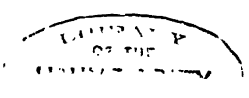

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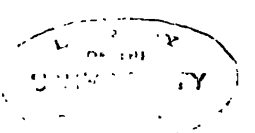

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 1. PORTATIVE ORGAN AND PSALTERY FROM THE VAULT OF THE PERCY TOMB, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. DOUBLE-TUBED WIND-INSTRUMENT ON A BOSS OF THE REREDOS, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

*To face page 25.*

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of one of the angels in the late thirteenth-century carvings of the angel quire at Lincoln.

The next Exeter minstrel carries a shawm (plate x, no. 10),[1] a wooden wind instrument in which the sound was produced by the vibration of a double reed in the mouthpiece.

In England a pipe of this nature appears in carvings as early as the twelfth century, in Canterbury crypt, Barfreston church, and the prior's doorway at Ely. By the fourteenth century it was fully developed and in constant use, and appears in numerous illustrations of that period, sometimes in the hands of female performers. From it in queen Elizabeth's reign was developed the hautboy, which derived its new name from the fact that shawms of various pitches were used, and the one of the highest pitch was consequently called the *haut bois* or 'high wood' instrument.[2]

The tube of the shawm had an expanded termination, sometimes even widened to a bell-mouth like that of a clarion, but more usually of much less expansion. The lower end of this specimen has evidently been broken off, which makes it seem unusually short and rather indeterminate in form, but the characteristic mouthpiece is quite clear, and also the holes for the finger-stopping.

A later example is also found at Exeter (plate xvii, no. 1). A fifteenth-century shawm is one of the instruments in the hands of the five musicians on the 'minstrel-pillar' in St. Mary's church, Beverley, while another very large one, known as a 'bumbarde,' occurs in the nave of Beverley minster.[3] There is an angel performing on a double-tubed wind instrument on a fourteenth-century boss of the reredos in Beverley minster, but from its position it is difficult to determine whether it is intended for a double recorder or a double shawm: the mouth

[1] The name shawm is a corruption of, or derivation from, the Latin *calamus*, a reed, or *calamula*, a reed pipe which became first *chalemelle*, and hence schalm or shawm.

[2] Our modern name oboe is, of course, merely another form of the same word.

[3] Galpin, op. cit. p. 163.

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certainly resembles that of a shawm more nearly than that of a recorder (plate XI, no. 2).

The two last of the gallery minstrels are performers on instruments of percussion, which are among the most ancient and most universal that exist (plate X, nos. 11 and 12). No. 11 is a timbrel player, and the instrument seems scarcely distinguishable from the modern tambourine, except that it is a good deal larger.[1] The coupled jingles inserted in the frame-work and the action of the right hand are quite after the modern pattern. The origin of this merry little rhythm-marker is absolutely prehistoric, for it was, under somewhat varying forms, common to early Assyrian, Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, and Peruvian civilisations, as well as to Greeks and Romans, Celts and Gauls.

Considering its simple construction, and man's craving for a rhythmic accompaniment to the dance, the widespread appearance of such an instrument is not surprising; but it is rather remarkable that it has changed so little, or rather that, notwithstanding the varied family of drums that have developed from it, it should have held its place in its primitive form throughout all ages.

In mediaeval ecclesiastical carvings, such as this, the timbrel would be thought quite fitting for, and specially appropriate to, the use of an angel, on account of its having been the instrument on which Miriam and her maidens accompanied their hymn of triumph after the passage of the Red sea.[2] In the middle ages the performers on timbrels were called 'tymbestres,' and on occasions of merriment the tymbester often performed feats of dancing and tumbling at the same time as throwing and catching his instrument.

A tymbester appears among the Adderbury musicians (plate XII, no. 2), and presents no essential differences in detail from that at Exeter. Mr. Galpin gives an illustration of another fourteenth-century specimen from a manuscript in the British Museum[3]; while on an earlier fourteenth-

[1] The name 'tambourine,' which originated in France or Italy, was generally substituted for that of 'timbrel' in the eighteenth century.

[2] Exodus, xv, 20, 21.

[3] op. cit. fig. 43, p. 241.

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GROTESQUE. MERMAN. GROTESQUE. NO. 1. PORTATIVE ORGAN.

NO. 2. TIMBREL. NO. 3. BAGPIPES.

THE LEGEND OF ST. GILES. MONSTER. NO. 4. SYMPHONY.

FRIEZE ON THE NAVE OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ADDERBURY, OXON.



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NO. 5. REBEC. GROTESQUE. NO. 6. TRUMPET.

NO. 7. NAKERS. NO. 8. BUZINE.

NO. 9. PSALTERY. MONSTER. NO. 10. HARP.

FRIEZE ON THE NAVE OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ADDERBURY, OXON.

*To face page 27.*

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century misericord at Chichester one is shown in the hands of an indescribable monster (plate XIV, no. 1). Later examples are seen in the nave of Beverley minster and on the outside of St. John's church, Cirencester (fifteenth century).

The timbrel differed from the tabor in having a skin stretched on one side of the hoop only, and in being struck with the hand, while the tabor had a skin on both sides, more like the small 'side-drums' of modern times, and was played with a little rod. The timbrel sometimes had a 'snare' or vibrating cord stretched across it, in the same way as the tabor.

The twelfth, and last, minstrel of the gallery is sounding the cymbals, or 'clash-pans' (plate X, no. 12), in which one metal plate is held face upwards by a short stem in the right hand, and with the other hand another metal plate is dashed upon it. This rhythm-marking instrument like the timbrel, is of very ancient origin. It was used by eastern nations for military music, and by the ancient Egyptians in their religious ceremonies. From its use among the Jews it descended to the early Christian church, and is often seen in ecclesiastical carvings and in illustrated manuscripts representing sacred subjects. In England, its employment in military music only dates from some time in the eighteenth century; it is now in much favour in the modern orchestra.

There is one instrument in the Adderbury corbel-table (plate XII, no. 4) which is not even allied to any of those which appear at Exeter; but it is of interest, and was very popular in the fourteenth century. This is a symphony consisting at this stage of its development, roughly speaking, of a long box in which were stretched two, three, or four strings. One or two of these were 'stopped' with one hand (usually the left) by means of mechanism controlled from *outside* the box, while the other turned a handle. The handle actuated a small, rosined wheel, which revolved against the strings, set them in vibration, and in fact acted as a bow. In consequence of this wheel action, and to

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distinguish the symphony from the bowed viols, it was in later times often called the 'vielle-à-roue.'

Mr. G. C. Druce has kindly given me the following contemporary description of the symphony, extracted from a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.[1]

> Le Livre des propriétés des choses.
> Cy parle de la Cymphonie.
> Lauteur de ce livre dist que Cymphonie est un Instrument de musique qui est fait de bois creux couvert de pel de deux pars et le fiert on de vergettes deca et dela et rent un moult doulx son sicomme dist Ysidore. Mais on appelle en france cymphonie un Instrument dont les aveugles jouent en chantant les chancons de gestes et a cest Instrument un doulx son et plaisant a oyr se ce ne fust pour lestat de ceulx qui en jouent.

The symphony originated in a far more clumsy and unmanageable form of instrument known as the 'organistrum,' which generally required two performers, and was greatly in use for the accompaniment of church music until superseded by the portative organ. There is an admirable specimen among the instruments over the twelfth-century 'gloria' doorway at Santiago de Compostela, with two elders playing upon it. By a reduction in size and other improvements it became not only very portable, but also suited for the use of one performer alone, and was widely adopted by wandering musicians, taking a large part in country merry-makings. It remained in use under the name of symphony (which indicated the characteristic simultaneous sounding of all the strings) till well on in the sixteenth century, and we find even Milton referring to it in *Paradise Lost*[2] as 'dulcet symphonies.' After this it seems to have sunk out of favour, till in the eighteenth century it again appeared in the hands of travelling musicians as the hurdy-gurdy. Less than fifty years ago these queer little instruments might have been seen and heard in the streets of England, generally played by Italians or Savoyards.

For the next representations of musical instruments

[1] Cotton MS. Aug. A. vi, fo. 463.

[2] book i, line 712.

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*[P. M. Johnston, phot.*

NO. I. TIMBREL ON A MISERICORD AT CHICHESTER.

NO. 2. TOMB OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE AT EXETER.

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 1. HARP FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. MANDORE OR SMALL LUTE FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

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at Exeter we have to skip a whole century, and pass from these fourteenth-century carvings of the minstrels' gallery, which are more or less graceful in general contour though not excellent in detail, to a piece of work of a most debased style belonging to the fifteenth century. This is the canopy surmounting the tomb and effigy of bishop Bronescombe, which occupies the archway between the lady-chapel and the chapel of St. Gabriel. The canopy probably dates from the years within 1420 and 1455, as the arms of several of the Exeter bishops are blazoned upon it, and the latest are those of bishop Lacy, whose episcopate covered that period. Of the great beauty and refinement of this late thirteenth-century effigy it is not here the place to speak (plate XIV, no. 2), except to note the deplorable contrast between such an artistic masterpiece, and the later work of the canopy added to the tomb by persons whose piety and devotion was not equalled by their artistic taste. Other carvings of the same date, such as those at Manchester, show great superiority both in accuracy and artistic skill, and it is obvious that such productions as the canopy of Bronescombe's tomb, notwithstanding its rich colouring and elaborate detail, do not by any means represent the highest level of the work of the period.

In a hollow moulding of the cornice appears the series of eight angel-musicians, which is here illustrated[1] (plates XV to XVIII). They occur in the following order from west to east:

North face: harp, lute, psaltery, and a second psaltery.
South face: shawm, portative, rebec or kit, and bagpipes.

Like the figures in whose hands they appear, these objects are so ill-carved that they cannot be taken as really accurate models of the instruments they represent; but they serve at least to show what were the types of musical instruments then chiefly in vogue, and we can note some distinct differences and developments in comparing them with those of the same family of about a century earlier that have been already considered.

[1] These illustrations are from Mr. F. Crossley's photographs.

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No. 1, plate xv, the harp, is not one of those that exhibits any marked change in either its size or construction. As far as can be judged from the very rough indications of the tuning pegs, it had ten strings.

No. 2, plate xv, however, has not been met with before in this church. It is a mandore, or small lute, an instrument of much popularity at the time at which these carvings were executed. It was of the citterne family,[1] but, unlike that instrument, its head was turned backwards, a characteristic belonging to all varieties of lutes. The strings were of cat-gut, and usually in pairs; they varied in number according to the size of the instrument, which was often not more than twenty inches long. It had a convex back, and a fretted finger-board, and the strings were vibrated with both a plectrum and the fingers. In this example the fingers only seem to be employed. The mandore and lute, both of which, with their names, were of eastern origin, were popular on the continent long before they appeared in Britain; but by the middle of the fifteenth century we find many representations of them in English manuscripts and carvings, though mostly of the larger form of the instrument, as, for instance, at Manchester, and on the 'musicians' pillar' in St. Mary's, Beverley. In this last-named example, by the way, the instrument is held in a reversed position to that usually seen, the body being turned to the *left* of the performer, whose left hand is plucking the strings while the right hand is stopping them on the finger-board.

The neck of the lute became more and more elongated and the number of strings multiplied as time went on and its use among all classes increased. Specimens of them more than a century later, when they were at the highest pitch of their popularity, are seen in plate xix.

The next figure (plate xvi, no. 1) is playing on a psaltery of 'the shape known in Italy as *strumento di porco* from its

[1] See above, p. 13.

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 1. PSALTERY FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. DOUBLE PSALTERY FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. I. SHAWM FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

[*F H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. PORTATIVE ORGAN FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

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supposed likeness to the face of a pig,'[1] which is the form most familiar to us.

And no. 2, plate XVI, also has an instrument of the psaltery class, but one much less common in mediaeval representations: in fact Mr. Galpin tells me that he has not before met with any representation of this form in England. There is one very similar shown in the sixteenth-century paintings of the heavenly quire in the church at Saronno.

Of our Exeter example Mr. Galpin writes, 'it is a specimen of the canon or micanon, which were both derived from the eastern *kanoon*, an instrument strung with gut or twisted hair strings, and played with the fingers or a small plectrum; . . . and it shows how the form of the harpsichord or clavicymbal was obtained.'[2] When strung and played on both sides of the sound-board, as in our Exeter specimen, it was called the double psaltery.

The psaltery, with its sister the dulcimer, played a large part in mediaeval music. The essential difference between the two is merely that in the psaltery the fingers vibrated the strings with a little plectrum, while in the dulcimer small rods were employed to *strike* the strings. Both were in use at the same time, and indeed the term psaltery is often used to include both instruments.

As with so many of the stringed instruments, their origin was Asiatic. The blunt-angled form of the shallow box over which the numerous strings are stretched, shown here in no. 1, plate XVI, was an improvement on the earlier rectangular English form, which was often held upright something like a harp, instead of being laid flat on the knee, or laid upon a table, as was this later form. It appears thus in the contemporary glass of the Beauchamp chapel, Warwick (1447), where an angel stands by the table to play on it; and a pair of angels, in another of these interesting windows, have a large psaltery between them, the one holding it out horizontally while the other plays

[1] Galpin, op. cit. p. 59.

[2] The German name was *Spitzharfe*.

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upon it with both hands, apparently with fingers only.[1]

The psaltery was specially popular as an accompaniment to the voice, both in church music and among the numerous wandering minstrels; but by the sixteenth century, except in very remote places, it was quite superseded in England by the dulcimer with its little hammer rods. In Spain and in the Canary isles the psaltery is still in use.

From the psaltery with its *plucked* strings, and, of course, with the addition of a keyboard and its special mechanism, sprang the spinet, virginal, and harpsichord, all of which are plucked-string instruments; while from the dulcimer and its *hammered* strings rose the whole of the great pianoforte family.

Examples of the common triangular psaltery of the fourteenth century, showing no features distinctive from that at Exeter, are seen in the Adderbury corbel-table (plate XIII, no. 9) and in the vaulting of the Percy tomb in Beverley minster (plate XI, no. 1). Contemporary specimens are at Manchester,[2] where a good dulcimer also appears; and in the nave of Beverley minster.[3] As before mentioned, no other examples of the double psaltery can be quoted from English sources.

The next figure (plate XVII, no. 1) is the shawm-player previously referred to,[4] who offers no fresh details for comment.

The next (plate XVII, no. 2) gives us a very inferior representation of the portative organ, practically unaltered from the fourteenth-century type seen in the minstrels'

[1] Mr. G. C. Druce, has kindly furnished me with the following contemporary description of a psaltery, extracted from the fourteenth-century Cotton MS. Augustus, A vi, fo. 463 (Brit. Mus.), livre xx, sect. xxix:

'Cy parle du psalterion.

'Le psalterion est dit de chanter pour ce que jadis le cueur respondoit au psalterion en chantant. Le psalterion ressemble a une guiterne de barbarie qui est faite comme un triangle. Mais il y a difference en ce que le psalterion est plat et la guiterne est bossue dessous. Les juys [Jews] soloient avoir dix cordes ou psalterion selon le nombre des dix commandemens de la loy. Les meilleurs cordes qui soient pour le psalterion sont de fil darchal [brass wire] ou de fil d'argent.'

[2] Galpin, op. cit. figs. 9 and 10, p. 65.

[3] Illustrated by Carter in *Specimens of Sculpture and Painting*.

[4] See above, p. 25.

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. I. REBEC FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. BAGPIPES FROM CANOPY OF BISHOP BRONESCOMBE'S TOMB, EXETER.

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WALL-TABLET TO YOUNG MUSICIAN, EXETER.

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gallery; only, in this case, the ill-formed *left* hand appears to have the keyboard work allotted to it, which is unusual though not unprecedented,[1] and scarcely proves that such was really ever the case. The pipes here appear to be set in a triple row, but this also is a detail in which, in such a carving, inaccuracy may have been shown.

No. 1, plate XVIII, may probably be classed as a rebec, or kit, although scarcely any of its detail is correctly given. The bow is in the wrong hand, the instrument is held on the wrong shoulder; neither pegs, strings, nor bridge appear, and the shape of the body is very dubious. However, it suggests nothing else in the way of a musical instrument, and is scarcely of any value as a record, unless it be of the inaccuracy and inferiority of some of these fifteenth-century sculptures.[2]

The last (plate XVIII, no. 2) has more general accuracy, and detail. It shows the bagpipes, still in favour, with the chanter, drone-pipe, and an ornamental treatment of the upper part of the skin of the wind-bag. No radical changes in it appear.

The only remaining illustration of mediaeval musical instruments at Exeter is from a mural tablet, now on the western wall of the north transept (plate XIX). Its date is 1586, and the inscription is as follows:[3]

Matthei Godwin
adolescentis pii mitis
ingeniosi musicae bacchalaurii
dignissimi scientissimi ecclesiarum
cathed Cantuāri et Exon archimusici
aeternae memoriae posuit G. M. Fr.
vixit annos xvii menses v.
Hinc ad caelos migravit
xii Januarii 1586.

[1] See above, p. 23.

[2] Excellent examples of the same century are seen in Beverley St. Mary and in the windows of the Beauchamp chapel, Warwick.

[3] The sixth line may possibly be expanded as 'aeternae memoriae posuit genio monumentum frater.'

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The material is Purbeck marble, and in low relief upon the background is shown the figure of this remarkable youthful genius kneeling before his organ, while a number of sympathetic cherubs are awaiting with due eagerness his 'migration' to the celestial orchestra.

The most important and interesting instrument that appears as part of his terrestrial outfit is this positive organ, some reference to which was made when describing the portative.[1] Here is seen the successor to that earliest form of keyboard organ, the keyboard being now applied to a large instrument standing on the ground, and probably blown either by a pair of bellows at the back, or by two cords running through the right side of the case, and raising a pair of bellows concealed within the lower part of the instrument. This specimen has only one keyboard, composed of twelve keys, five of which are raised. Only seven vertical pipes are shown, but the rest would doubtless be hidden behind within the organ-case.

Then, leaning against the wall, there are two lutes of different sizes, unmistakeably recognisable by their shape and turned-back heads.

There is also a long folded trumpet with the usual cords and banner wrapped round it in the upper part. Its presence here may very probably indicate that Godwin was one of the city state-trumpeters.

The other instrument, seen leaning against the wall behind the smaller lute, is one very rarely met with in illustrations of English work, although it was originally of English invention and very popular in this country during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. It is the curved cornett, which was a long, slender horn, or curved tube, bored with six finger holes in front and one at the back for the thumb. In the sixteenth-century paintings in the church at Saronno, by G. Ferrari, already referred to, it occurs several times, and it was very popular on the continent long after it had ceased to be used in English orchestras.[2] This specimen is a treble, or ordinary,

[1] See above, p. 22.

[2] 'Duoi cornetti' are among the thirty-six instruments used by Monteverde in the accompaniment of the voices in his opera of *Orfeo*, produced in 1608, which is one of the earliest examples of a musical drama in which the instrumental accompaniment forms an important part.

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cornett, and was probably played by young Godwin in the cathedral as a leading instrument with the organ and sackbut to support the voices of the singers, as was usual at this time. There were two other sizes: the great, or tenor, cornett, and the high treble cornett, the latter having a compass a fifth higher than that of the ordinary treble. 'All the cornetts,' says Mr. Galpin,[1] 'are sounded by means of a small cup-shaped mouthpiece having a very thin edge; they are not reed instruments as sometimes stated.' The only bass instrument of the cornett type was the serpent, the tube of which took a snake-like form instead of a simple curve. It was much and worthily in use from the end of the sixteenth century to nearly the middle of the nineteenth, long after the other cornetts had been discarded. There were also straight cornetts, generally known as mute cornetts from their special softness of tone; but the curved variety was that chiefly used in England. The whole family, known in Germany as *Zincke*, was very largely in vogue there.

The modern brass cornet, a valved instrument, is but a very distant relative of the mediaeval cornett family. The curved cornett of our example was made of either wood or ivory, and covered with black leather.

It is interesting to read in Mr. Galpin's book[2] how, in 1532, there were, among the list of officers appointed at Canterbury, two 'cornetters' and two 'sackbutters.' Doubtless it was to the first of these offices that young Godwin had succeeded before he came to Exeter.

These instruments on his memorial tablet are rather imperfectly carved, or have been blunted by time, but they are interesting as indicating the kinds that would at that date have been considered essential to a musician's outfit.

With this monument there ends all representation of musical instruments at Exeter. In reviewing the whole collection, the fact comes out with striking force that those from the presbytery vault, the earliest in date with the exception of the wooden misericord taborist, are incom-

[1] op. cit. p. 194. [2] op. cit. p. 191.

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parably the best from an artistic point of view, as well as being the most detailed and faithful records of the several characteristics.

In these qualities they fully correspond with the exquisite realistic foliage-carvings of the corbels below, which belong to the same years; both present some of the finest examples of early fourteenth-century decorative art that are anywhere to be seen. What this period may have lost in boldness, grandeur, and scale in its decorative work, was not a little compensated by the beauty and refinement of design and execution which are its conspicuous features.

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# ARCHBISHOP ROGER'S CATHEDRAL AT YORK AND ITS STAINED GLASS.

By W. R. LETHABY, F.S.A

Four or five years ago I made some notes on the remarkable fragments of twelfth-century stained glass in York minster. Unfortunately I did not write them out at once, and these remarks must suffer in consequence. My main purpose is to call attention once more to these wonderful remnants, to show that they must represent the glazing of the windows of Roger's work, a quire more advanced but as glorious as ever was Conrad's at Canterbury; to suggest that we have some evidence of what the general scheme of design must have been; and to prove, if I can, that these windows are examples of glass-painting done at a school established at Angers in the reign of the great Henry II of England.

I also want to obtain as clear a view of Roger's structural work as may be possible without special and exhaustive examination of what actually remains. According to the York chronicler Stubbs, Roger, the archbishop from 1154 to 1181, 'constructed anew the quire of the cathedral church at York, together with its crypts and the archiepiscopal palace, and he was buried in the middle of the quire of the church.'[1] Browne, who in 1844 published the standard modern description of the church, says that it was traditionally held that this rebuilding was done from 1170 to 1178. Bishop Roger's 'work' at York was a noble eastern extension of seven bays beyond the crossing with an additional bay of one story forming a cross aisle, or retro-quire, beyond the eastern gable. Near the eastern end were flanking towers. The church 'being square-ended there were only altar-places in the eastern part, and the flanking towers were made to perform the part also of eastern transepts.'

[1] R. Willis, *The Architectural History of York Cathedral* (1848), p. 6. The original passage will be found in *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls ser.) ii, 398–400.

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This new quire was raised high above a crypt like Conrad's quire at Canterbury. From the great size of the pillars in the York crypt, and from the advanced form of its vaulting, we may reasonably suppose that the upper church was entirely vaulted, as still earlier had been the cathedral churches of Durham and Lincoln and the quire of the abbey church at Kirkstall. The tower chapels on either side of the east end would have formed useful abutments to a vaulted interior; while the vaults of the crypt show how great a mastery over the principles of vaulting Roger's mason had. In the quire aisles at Ripon, another work of Roger's, even a wall-rib is present, and I have an impression that there is some evidence of its existence in the York crypt.

'The cathedral,' says Willis, 'in the year 1200 was a Norman building, although the eastern end was of a more enriched style.' This assertion as to the Norman character of Roger's work is misleading. Willis himself tells us that some base-mouldings in the vestibule to the crypt 'are also employed in an arcade on the north side of the cathedral close which appertains to the palace that Roger is recorded to have built, and probably, therefore, was a part of his work.' This arcade is of a very refined and advanced Transitional character. Further, Browne, on his plates xxx and xxxi, gives several details of pillars and capitals from Roger's building. Some of the capitals were of elegant water-leaf form, and others had a plain bell, and several were wrought to fit semi-vesica-shaped shafts. One pier was composed of a group of eight such shafts. The external walls had a fine moulded plinth, and the buttresses had shafts on either side close to the walls.

Now the plan of the eastern termination of Roger's work, as recorded by Browne and elucidated by Willis, was exactly like that of Byland abbey in having a transverse aisle for chapels extending beyond the gable wall. And at Byland as at York this aisle was wider than the lateral aisles. This correspondence between the plans of York and Byland, which is not referred to by Willis, is a strong confirmation of the accuracy of his restoration of the former. At Byland, again, we find the buttresses projecting in two flat breaks, exactly as at York, except that at the latter the treatment was elaborated in having the inner breaks shafted. These shafts evidently passed upwards

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to stop under the corbel-table. The windows of both York and Byland had nook-shafts, but again York had an additional member in a hollow chamfer adjoining the shafts. The external design of the lateral elevation at York can thus be fairly well restored by comparison with Byland.

The 'water-leaf' capitals found at York are similar to others at Byland, Ripon, Roche, and at Fountains in the range of buildings built from 1170 to 1179. These leaves curled upwards in what Sharpe called the Transitional volute. Other capitals found at York are of the curious Cistercian type, having a square abacus and a deep square member with a graceful hollowed bell beneath. Similar capitals are found at Ripon and at Roche. One group of them at York belonged to the clustered pier of eight shafts mentioned above, and the same form of capital is associated with exactly the same form of shafts at Roche, where also the rolls of the bases have a flattened form like some bases at York. At Ripon, again, the piers were in groups of eight shafts, but the shafts were not of pointed form. The abbey churches at Roche and Byland seem to have been built about 1170. Roger's work at Ripon was in course of erection in 1181 when he died.

Mr. J. Bilson has said 'Roche must have been begun somewhere about the same time that Kirkstall was finished, and at Roche the expression is just as truly Gothic as that of Kirkstall is Romanesque. And this is true of the slightly later Byland.'[1] It must be nearly as true of Roger's quire at York. It would probably be worth while to search over all the fragments at York and to collect particulars of even the least details of Roger's work; a morsel of carving or of abacus moulding proves much.

From a comparison with the other Yorkshire works built in the latter half of the twelfth century we may obtain a fairly accurate idea of the form and sizes of the windows which would have been used at York. Of course they were round-headed, and would have been three or four times as high as they were wide. At Kirkstall the windows were about 3 feet 6 inches wide. At Byland they were very tall and nearly 4 feet 6 inches wide. Of Ripon I have the note: 'South quire aisle, Roger's work, has very perfect

[1] *Archaeol. Journ.* lxvi, 277.

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windows. Fine, big, circular-headed lancets about 3 feet 6 inches wide with deep sloping sills. The bays are vaulted on shafted corbels having water-leaf capitals. The vaulting ribs, including a wall-rib, are moulded.'

At York the fourteenth-century windows of the existing nave clerestory, which are for the most part filled with contemporary glazing of white pattern work charged with large shields of arms, contain also many fragments of earlier, richly-coloured glazing. There is also a panel of twelfth-century glazing patched into the central light of the Five Sisters window, and I have a note of 'fragments of early glass in the heads of the windows of the vestibule of the chapter-house.' Many of the more important pieces were carefully illustrated in colour by Browne, who first brought them into notice. Mr. Westlake saw that this glass was of high quality and the earliest in date of any surviving in England. The most remarkable piece is a panel from a Jesse-tree window, which must have been closely akin to the famous Jesse windows at Saint-Denis and Chartres.

When the clerestory windows were last repaired I was fortunate enough to see this panel while it was in the hands of the glaziers. It was about 2 feet 4 inches square; the colour was deep and splendid; the ground blue, the foliage red, yellow and green, and the strong scrolling stalks of the 'tree' white. The king who occupied this section was largely vested in green and brown-purple, and his shoes were red. Westlake, who had a scaffold raised so that he might inspect the panel, thought that it was either copied or designed by an artist educated in the same school which produced the Jesse trees of Saint-Denis and Chartres. The borders, however, he thought, might be more national. But I agree with M. E. Mâle as to their resemblance to the fine Saint-Denis borders.

Fragments of a dozen or more different varieties of borders exist, most of which have been illustrated by Browne. These borders must represent a very important series of windows, and one or two medallions and other pieces give some suggestions as to what their general character must have been (fig. 1). Mr. Westlake thought this glass was put in place during the episcopate of Roger, not later than about 1170.

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The twelfth-century panel, which is crudely inserted in the lower part of the middle light of the Five Sisters window, is more than three feet square. It is made up of a medallion with its surrounding circular frame and spandrels, and some handsome ornamental borders. The medallion is 2 feet in diameter, and its frame, 3 inches wide, is made up of a plain ruby band edged with two narrow rows of pearling.

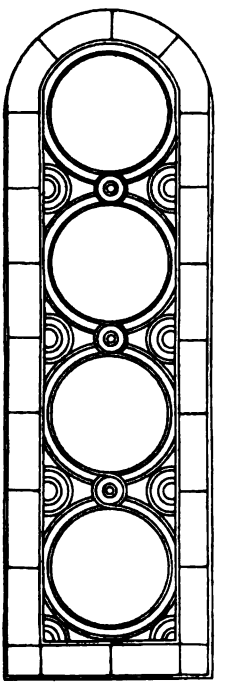

FIG. I. YORK CATHEDRAL CHURCH:
RESTORATION OF TWELFTH-CENTURY WINDOWS.

The red glass is extremely streaky, showing much of the white ground. At the top and bottom this circular frame turns round, guilloche fashion, forming a smaller circle 6½ inches in diameter, linking it with other medallions above and below. In the large spandrels left between pairs of the medallions are semicircles largely made up of blue and red, while the remaining parts of the spandrels

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are filled with plain green glass of fair emerald colour. Within the circular frame is a subject which is somewhat injured. It was described by Browne, when it may have been more perfect, as a representation of Daniel in the lions' den in Babylon, which is represented by towers and embattled walls. Within the walls is laid a lion, apparently asleep, with his head toward Daniel. The latter is standing and holding his hands toward Habakkuk whom an angel is bringing by the hair of his head, with a cake in his right hand and a bowl in the other. The angel, who dips down from the upper part of the medallion, is of an early type; the nimbus is ruby, and the doorway of the 'castle' is also a blazing red. The background is the most beautiful smoky blue. The ornamental borders now associated with this fragment are only 5½ inches wide, while the others before mentioned are 10 and 11 inches, but they are of similar fine style. Fig. 1 is a restoration of the general scheme of the windows, to which this panel must have belonged.

It is impossible to think that a subject relating to Daniel should appear in twelfth-century stained glass, unless it had significance as an Old Testament type of a Gospel fulfilment. If we refer to the old account of the glass at Canterbury, we shall find the subject of Daniel and the Dragon from the same apocryphal book, *Bel and the Dragon*, used as a type; and in the existing east window there is still among the types Daniel in Babylon. According to M. Mâle the arch of a doorway of the cathedral of Laon, which is carved with scenes in the life of the Virgin, and with Old Testament types, has for a type of the Annunciation Daniel receiving the food brought by Habakkuk to the lions' den.

Another twelfth-century example is given by M. Mâle from the church at Ydes, where the Annunciation and the visit of Habakkuk to Daniel again appear as type and ante-type. The source for this particular type seems to have been discovered in a sermon by Honorius of Autun, who was a contemporary of abbot Suger, and the type may have been used at Saint-Denis itself.

The York medallion is therefore evidence for a series illustrating the life of the Virgin or of Christ. And this, of course, would have been perfectly appropriate, and indeed almost necessary in association with the important

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Jesse-tree window of York. Such was the case at Saint-Denis, Chartres, and doubtless at Canterbury. This system of illustrating scenes from the Gospels by Old Testament types seems first to have been worked out in stained glass at abbot Suger's wonderful new church of Saint-Denis, where the windows were put in place about 1144–1148.

How quickly the reputation of this church spread over the west, and how great its immediate influence must have been, is suggested by a letter from Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, written to Suger in the very year 1148, when his new abbey church was completed. As I have never seen it in English, it may be here quoted from Suger's correspondence :

> Your reputation spread abroad in all parts has determined us to cross the sea with the single desire of knowing you. And we are come from so far only to be the witnesses of the things which are told of you as the Solomon of your century. Our curiosity has been satisfied at all points; we have had the pleasure to hear words full of wisdom issuing from your mouth; we have seen and pondered upon the magnificent temple which you have had built, and the ornaments with which you do not cease to embellish it. . . . The half of these things had not been told, and the truth surpasses the telling of the renown.

Browne, in his admirably accurate account of the glass at York, speaks of the fragments as consisting of (a) 'quarters of central compartments about 21 inches in diameter.' Some of these were plainer, and others had some addition of simple stiff foliage; (b) 'portraitures of single figures, as saints,' and (c) 'groups.' 'Sometimes the figure is seated beneath a canopy, or the group is placed in large circular, quatrefoil, or octofoil compartments, having the spandrels adorned with circles of various colours.'

He illustrates a single figure of a bishop seated under a canopy, the whole about 3 feet high, as well as the Jesse-tree panel, many borders, and several 'quarter compartments.' On his plate cxxviii he gives part of a foiled 'compartment,' that is, a medallion, associated with one of the fine, wide, outer borders, and a spandrel filling of stiff foliage (fig. 2). This foiled medallion has a frame exactly similar to that which surrounds the Daniel medallion.

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Taking the two together we obtain sufficient evidence for reconstructing these windows. They must have had a single vertical row of circular or foiled medallions enclosed between fine borders 10 or 11 inches wide. The lights which contained the circular medallions would have been about 4 feet wide (fig. 1). If Browne's illustration is accurate the light which contained the foiled medallion would have been wider. In this case it may have been one of the windows in the east gable. Browne evidently supposed that what he called 'quarter compartments' were quadrants of ornamental medallions forming a plainer type of window. This seems to have been quite possible, as there are ornamental medallions at Saint-Denis, but

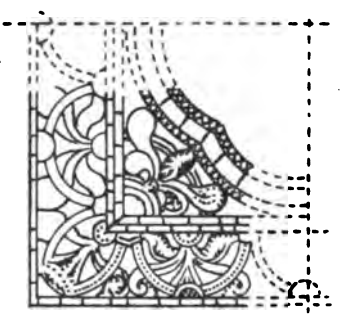

FIG. 2. YORK CATHEDRAL CHURCH : DETAIL OF TWELFTH-CENTURY GLAZING.

I am not satisfied without an examination of the actual fragments that they were not set as fillings in the spandrels left between the figure medallions. The portion which Browne illustrates as part of an octofoil medallion would seem rather to suit a quatrefoil (fig. 2).

We may now venture to imagine Roger's church with some colour in our reconstruction. His new quire must have had some forty windows in its two stories; the Jesse window was probably in the central eastern chapel which, doubtless, as at Saint-Denis, was dedicated in honour of the Virgin. This window, judging from the size of the existing section of the glass, could not have

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been less than five feet wide. On either side of this centre would have been a window having medallions of the life of Christ. Such subjects at an early time were always associated with the Jesse tree. One window would probably have contained scenes from the Infancy, and the other from the Passion. The types which accompanied these scenes must have been arranged alternately with them. The one which still exists, as we have seen, would have been a companion of the Annunciation. Other windows may have been purely ornamental. These may be represented by the larger quadrants of pattern-work illustrated by Browne. Above in the clerestory would have been figures of larger scale, one, or more one above the other, being in each light. Doubtless the single figure of a bishop seated under a canopy which was illustrated by Browne was one of these. It seems small, being only about 3 feet high by 1 foot wide, but it was usual to increase the size of such figure panels by a field of plainer glazing round about, and by wide borders. We may suppose that two or three were disposed one above the other, a customary arrangement; and that they should be bishops is also in accord with tradition for the clerestories of quires.

The glass at York belonged to the most perfect period for this craft. The series of wide borders yet preserved are unrivalled, and Mr. Westlake says of the Jesse panel: 'I was immediately attracted by the refinement of the drawing of the head, which is greater than in any other glass of the period that I have seen.' Roger's glass must have been comparable with the noble western windows at Chartres.

No one will doubt Mr. Westlake's opinion that the early stained glass at York was put in place by archbishop Roger, although the date, not later than 1170, which he gives, is probably a little early. I would myself substitute 1180. Westlake, following Browne, supposed that these splendid windows had been placed by Roger in the old Norman nave; this was entirely gratuitous, for it is evidently far more probable that such a fine series of windows, not less than twelve, and probably many more, were obtained for his own new quire. That this was indeed so is proved by the fact that the east end of a church, especially if a lady-chapel occupied the situation, was the proper

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traditional position for windows of the life of Christ associated with the Jesse tree.

The fact that such windows occur in the west front at Chartres is quite exceptional. They were doubtless inserted there because that fine west front, with its important windows, was completed soon after Suger's windows at the east end of Saint-Denis had become famous. Not only at Saint-Denis, but at Canterbury, Le Mans and many other places, the Jesse-tree window was in the lady-chapel, for which, of course, it is the obviously suitable subject. Again, the facts as to the history of the building of York minster and the present position of the fragments, call for this solution. Westlake supposes that the Jesse fragment was taken from the old west window of the Norman church, and set where it is in the clerestory of the fourteenth-century nave. Willis, however, has shown that a period of about fifty years intervened between the pulling down of the Norman nave and the completion of the stone-work of the now existing nave. Roger's quire, however, remained in existence until about 1380, and we could easily understand how likely it would be that portions of old glass taken from its windows when they were destroyed were put into the already existing windows of the nave and the entry to the chapter-house.[1]

One of the reasons given in 1361 for beginning the new eastern work which was to take the place of Roger's quire, was that there was no place where the mass of the Virgin could be performed with suitable decency. This suggests the view that the altar in the retro-quire may have been dedicated in honour of the Virgin, but that it was inadequate.

The glass at York clearly belongs to the school formed at Saint-Denis from 1140. This has already been pointed out by Westlake and Mâle. The latter says: 'We have found examples of the school of glass-painting issuing from Saint-Denis at Chartres, Le Mans, Vendôme, York, Angers and Poitiers.'[2] The Jesse panel and the borders at York are remarkably like those at Saint-Denis, where also are found subjects in medallions within frames made

[1] According to Willis, this was completed in 1340.

[2] Of the elements which helped to make up the school of Saint-Denis I have written in the *Burlington Magazine*, July, 1914.

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up of a ruby band edged on each side with 'pearling.' In the Saint-Denis glass we already find a small characteristic which persisted long: feet or other details of the subject were allowed to pass on to the margins of the medallions and even beyond them.

In the superb window at Chartres representing the life of Christ, which is supposed to be from the Saint-Denis workshops about 1150, the medallion frames are made up of a ruby band with pearled edgings, the spandrels are green with semi-rosettes against the great outer border. At Le Mans variants of the same treatment are found. A medallion window at Poitiers figured by Merston has the guilloche linking of the medallion frames, and the smaller medallions in the spandrels; some of those latter, as at York, were quatrefoils. There are also windows at Angers, in which the details resemble very closely those of the York glass. Here we have the plain red and pearled margins to medallions which fill the whole width of the light, half discs being set in the spandrels against the great outer borders. Here, too, and here alone, so far as I know, we find some of the principal subject-medallions of a quatrefoil form, as was the case also at York. As de Farcy has shown from documents, the glass at Angers was given to the cathedral about 1182, and this was practically the same date as, on the evidence, we have given to the windows at York. Many considerations, which cannot now be gone into, suggest that the glass in all the places which have been mentioned in these notes, with the exception of the earliest, that at Saint-Denis and Chartres, belong to a local school at Angers, a city which must in the reign of Henry II have been in a higher degree than London or Rouen the culture-capital of his dominions.

The clearest examples of correspondence with the glass at Angers will be found in some windows once at Chenu in Maine, and now at Rivenhall in Essex. In these remarkable fragments of twelfth-century glass we find on the one hand replicas of subjects at Angers, and on the other close resemblances to the glass at York. I hope another time to discuss the Chenu-Rivenhall fragments more fully.

From the Durham chronicle we find that bishop Pudsey glazed the quire of his cathedral church with

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stained glass windows. These were doubtless comparable with those of York. Winston illustrates one twelfth-century fragment from Saint Cross. Again it cannot be doubted that the Guthlac roll at the British Museum contains a set of designs for stained glass medallions not much later than A.D. 1200. Stained glass must have been far from uncommon in England in the latter half of the twelfth century. The early glass at York would certainly repay full and minute study.

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# THE CODEX AMIATINUS: ITS HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE.

By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A.

Bede's tract on the history of the abbots of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth is largely based on an earlier work on the life of abbot Ceolfrid by a monk of one of those two monasteries whose name is not recorded. Bede both epitomises and enlarges this earlier narrative, and tells us *inter alia* that Ceolfrid ruled for seven years at Jarrow and twenty-eight years over the combined monasteries. The anonymous author in speaking of the abbot says:

Bibliothecam quam de Roma vel ipse, vel Benedictus adtulerat, nobiliter ampliavit, ita ut inter alia tres pandectes [i.e. whole Bibles] faceret describi, quorum duo per totitem sua monasteria [i.e. Jarrow and Monkwearmouth] posuit in aecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet testamento legere voluissent, in promptu esset invenire quod cuperent; tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decrevit.[1]

In his paraphrase of the work of this anonymous author, Bede refers to these codices as follows:

Bibliothecam utriusque monasterii quam Benedictus abbas magna caepit instantia, ipse non minori geminavit industria; ita ut tres pandectes novae translationis, ad unum vetustae translationis quem de Roma adtulerat ipse super adjungeret; quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utrique monasterio reliquit.[2]

[1] Plummer, *Bedæ*, i, 395. In translation: He nobly enlarged the library which either he or Benedict had brought from Rome, in such wise that amongst other things he caused to be written three pandects, and he placed one in the churches of each of his two monasteries so that all those who wished to read any chapter of either testament might at once find what they wanted. The third, however, he decided to present as a gift to the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, when he set out for Rome.

[2] ibid. i, 379. In translation: The library of each monastery which abbot Benedict had commenced with great perseverance, with no less perseverance he doubled, for to the old translation which he had brought from Rome he added three pandects of the new translation. One of these on his return to Rome in his old age he took with him among other things as a gift: of the other two he gave one to each monastery.

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This statement seems very plain, and yet it is full of ambiguity. About 716 Ceolfrid, at the age of seventy-four, resigned his abbacy and determined to go on a pilgrimage ('apostolorum limina peregrinaturus adiret').[1] He took with him a letter of commendation to the pope from his successor, abbot Hwaetberht, with certain gifts. Before he reached Rome he fell ill, and died on 25th September, 716, at Langres (Lingones), where he was buried.[2] Of his companions some returned home and some went on to Rome, taking with them the gifts he had sent ('delatura munera quae miserat'),[3] among which was the 'Pandectes interpretatione beati Hieronymi presbiteri ex Hebraeo et Greco fonte transfusus,' one of the three pandects of the new translation mentioned above and thus described. This pandect, as is well known, has survived the dangers of more than twelve hundred years, and is extant in a very perfect condition. It has been identified by an interesting and ingenious inductive process with the most famous of all Latin Biblical manuscripts, namely, the Codex Amiatinus, now preserved in the Mediceo-Ambrosian Library at Florence. A few words will establish the proof of this contention.

On the title-page are some verses stating that it had been presented to the monastery of Monte Amiata by a certain 'Petrus Langobardorum abbas,' who lived at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. The second hexameter runs thus :

Petrus Langobardorum extremis de finibus abbas.

The famous Italian scholar De' Rossi showed in 1886 that the name and style of the Lombard abbot in the dedicatory verses were written over erasures, and that the name *Petrus* had been altered from *Ceolfrid ;* the word *abbas* had done duty for both names, while the words *corpus Petri* in the first line had been changed to *Coenobium Salvatoris*. This was a clear proof that the original dedication had been made by an abbot Ceolfrid. He further suggested that the word *Langobardorum* had been

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, i, 395.
[2] ibid. i, 385 and 402.
[3] Anon. Life of Ceolfrid, ibid. i, 400 and 402.

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substituted for that of *Britannorum*. Bishop Forrest Browne pointed out two objections to this view, namely, that the hexameter did not scan when altered as De' Rossi suggested, and secondly, that it was virtually impossible for a Northumbrian of the eighth century to speak of himself as a Briton. In his opinion the second word should be *Anglorum*,[1] a view afterwards shown to be correct.

Dr. Hort, writing in the *Academy* of 26th February, 1887, was further able to show that in the anonymous life of Ceolfrid already cited, the publication of which by Stevenson in 1841 had apparently been overlooked abroad, there occur certain verses in which Ceolfrid's name was enshrined. These, Dr. Hort showed, were the verses in which Ceolfrid dedicated the pandect he took to Rome as a present to the pope in the very words which occur also in the Codex Amiatinus. The verses, as reported in the anonymous life, are :

> Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
> Dedicat aecclesiae quem caput alta fides
> Ceolfridus Anglorum extremis de finibus abbas
> Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei.
> Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
> In caelis memorem semper habere locum.

Inasmuch as the circumstances, the date of the script, etc. concurred to support this induction, it was at once and everywhere accepted. A large part of the story is told with admirable lucidity in Mr. H. J. White's memoir on the manuscript in the second volume of *Studia Biblica*. This discovery at once greatly enhanced the value of the Codex Amiatinus, which was thus proved to be certainly not later than the year 716. The discovery naturally led to a more careful and critical examination of the manuscript. This showed that it was not homogeneous, but that the first quaternion is markedly different from the rest, the parchment on which it is written being not quite so tall as that of the other gatherings, and darker and thicker. Further, this gathering is not signed, and the second quaternion, beginning the Bible-text itself, is marked 1. Lastly, the writing of the lists and prefatory

[1] London *Guardian*, 2nd March, 1887.

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matter in the first quaternion is in a different hand from that of the body of the book, all going to show that that section and the rest of the volume came from two different sources.

Mr. White has given a syllabus of the contents of this quaternion which is instructive. He tells us that fol. 1 is blank ; 1*b* has the dedicatory verses already cited ; 2 is blank ; 2*b* and 3 contain a large bird's-eye view of the tabernacle ; 3*b* is blank ; 4 contains a prologue to the contents of the manuscript ; 4*b* contains a list of the books in the Amiatine manuscript arranged to suit two volumes, with certain hexameter lines below ; fol. 5 has a picture of Ezra seated at his desk with a bookcase close by ; 5*b* is blank ; 6 contains a list of the Bible books according to Jerome with a sacred lamb, etc. above ; 7, underneath the head of a monk, has another and different list of the sacred books (Bishop Browne calls it the 'Hilarionian' and 'Epiphanian' division of scripture) ; 7*b* is stained yellow, and has drawn on it five circles arranged crosswise within a larger circle ; 8 contains the Bible books according to St. Augustine, and also a picture of a dove with spread wings surrounded by flames, with two fillets from which hang the six divisions of the sacred books ; 8*b* is blank, and Bishop Browne regards it as an 'outside.' The latter also observes that fol. 6 must at one time have been next to fol. 8, since part of the couplet at the top of the latter can be read on the face of fol. 6*b*, a considerable part of the couplet having been impressed in reverse upon it. This is due to the fact that this entry, unlike any other in the manuscript, is formed by a profusion of thick black pigment which has been silvered, and has the air of an insertion.

If, says Bishop Browne, the quaternion were arranged properly, from the nature of the case the 'temple' must have been the innermost sheet. The leaf with the Augustinian division of scripture has naturally been the innermost. The Ezra portion, with the Hieronymian division, would then be 2 and 7 ; the prologue and the contents of the codex, the 'Hilarion' division, and the contents of the Pentateuch, which are now two separate pages, would be 3 and 6.[1]

[1] London *Guardian*, 29th April, 1887, p. 651.

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Professor Corssen and Mr. White have both written about the contents of this quaternion and have greatly illustrated it, but the last word has still to be said. I would urge in regard to the first leaf with its dedicatory verses that it has nothing to do with any other part of the manuscript, but was entirely supplied by Ceolfrid himself, who wrote the verses. The fourth folio, again, which is stained on both sides with a fine purple while the writing is on a yellow ground (doubtless to simulate gold), is arranged in tables within a double arch of twisted-rope pattern, and contains the prologue and the list of books in the succeeding codex. This was once, no doubt, as Professor Corssen suggests, an integral part of the volume in its pristine and uninterpolated condition, forming probably its initial pages.

There are some slight discrepancies between the prologue and the actual contents of the book, which is also the case with the table of contents. On this Bishop Browne says: 'It will be found on counting the books recited that they are sixty-six; adding one each for 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, and 2 Esdras, we obtain seventy, the number of the prologue. On the other hand, the codex actually contains seventy-one, Jeremiah and Lamentations being represented in the contents as Hieremias. Thus the discrepancies may not be real.'

The rest of the folios in the first quaternion, namely, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8, had nothing whatever to do originally with the succeeding codex and have been transplanted from another manuscript. They were probably added to this one by Ceolfrid to give his gift to the pope a grander and more sumptuous appearance. The codex is quite complete without them.

It is plain, therefore, that the first quaternion of the Codex Amiatinus, with the exception of folios 1 and 4, had nothing to do with the manuscript as originally written.

Let us now turn to this transported boulder, that is, folios 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of quaternion 1. Whence did it come? It had already been noticed by Dr. Corssen in 1883 that one of the pictures in the second and third folios of the Codex Amiatinus, namely, that of the tabernacle, was also mentioned by Cassiodorus as contained

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in a codex in his library which he refers to as the 'Codex grandior.' Cassiodorus thus speaks of it: 'tabernaculum templumque domini . . . quae depicta subtiliter lineamentis propriis in pandecte latino corporis grandioris.'[1] Elsewhere, speaking of the tabernacle in Ps. xiv, 1, he says: 'Quod nos fecimus pingi, et in pandectes majoris capite . . . collocari.' This last reference I owe to Bishop Browne.[2] Cassiodorus elsewhere describes the contents of the 'pandectes grandior,' and tells us that the Latin text in it was the Old Latin version. Now, as we have seen, Bede tells us that Ceolfrid, or Benedict Biscop, brought a pandect to Northumbria containing the Old Latin version. Dr. Hort very ingeniously carried this induction further by quoting two passages from Bede's minor works. One of these came from his tract on the Tabernacle, ii, 12, and reads as follows: 'Quo modo in pictura Cassiodori senatoris cujus ipse in expositione psalmorum meminit expressum vidimus'; and again, in his tract on Solomon's temple, ch. xvi, he says: 'Has vero porticus Cassiodorus senator in pandectis ut ipse psalmorum ex positione commemorat triplici ordine distincta'; adding below: 'Haec ut in pictura Cassiodori reperimus distincta.'

As Dr. Hort says, 'This is the language of a man who had actually seen with his own eyes the representation of the tabernacle and the temple which Cassiodorus had inserted in his pandect.'[3] This is not all. In the preface to his memoir *de Institutione divinarum litterarum*, Cassiodorus tells us how he had withdrawn from the world and devoted himself to study, and adds:

> Indubitanter ascendamus ad divinam scripturam per expositiones probabiles patrum. . . . Ista est enim fortasse scala Jacob per quam angeli ascendunt et descendunt. . . . Quo circa si placet hunc debemus lectionis ordinem custodire ut primum tirones Christi, postquam psalmos didicerint auctoritatem divinam in codicibus emendatis jugi exercitatione meditentur donec illis fiat, domino praestante, notissima: ne vitia librariorum impolitis mentibus inolescant, quia difficile potest erui quod memoriae sinibus radicatum constat infigi.

The work in which these commentaries of the Fathers were abstracted or copied he describes in the first nine

[1] *Inst.* ch. v.
[2] *Guardian*, 27th April, 1887, p. 652.
[3] See White, *Studia Biblica*, ii, p. 300.

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chapters of the *de Institutione*, each chapter being devoted to describing a single codex. The whole work consisted of nine codices or volumes. These codices were respectively headed:

Caput I, primus scripturarum divinarum codex est Octateuchus; c. II, in secundo regum codice; c. III, ex omni igitur prophetarum codice tertio; c. IV, sequitur psalterium codex quartus; c. V, quintus codex est Salomonis; c. VI, sequitur hagiographorum codex sextus; c. VII, septimus igitur codex . . . quatuor evangelistarum superna luce resplendet; c. VIII, octavus codex canonicas epistolas continet apostolorum; c. IX, igitur codex actus apostolorum ut apocalypsin noscitur continere.[1]

On turning to the first quaternion of the Codex Amiatinus, which, as we have seen, was in the main transferred from the 'codex grandior' of Cassiodorus, and especially to the picture there contained of Ezra in his cell, we shall find a representation of a bookcase containing nine large volumes, each one labelled. The labels in question, as Corssen was the first to point out, correspond with one exception to the titles here referred to. They are Oct. lib.; Hest lib.; Psal. lib.; Sal. prof.; Evangel IIII; Epist. op. XXI; Act. ap.; Apoca. The one mistake is due, no doubt, to the artist, who instead of *Hest* has written *Hagi*.

There cannot be any reasonable doubt that the picture of the bookcase and its contents was either directly copied from the original manuscript of Cassiodorus or formed part of that manuscript.

It is *prima facie* nearly certain that the latter alternative is the right one, and that the manuscript from which the greater part of the first quaternion of the Codex Amiatinus was derived was the original 'codex grandior' of Cassiodorus; otherwise Bede's language about his having himself seen that codex is unintelligible. At the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century the so-called vulgate text of Jerome had largely supplanted its predecessor, generally known as the *Vetus Latina* and sometimes as the *Itala*, which had become obsolete.[2] It would therefore be of only remote interest to

[1] White, *Studia Biblica*, ii, p. 291.

[2] It seems incredible that the copy of the *Vetus Latina* which we know Benedict brought to Jarrow was a new codex. That translation was then obsolete and of no special interest to anyone except an advanced scholar, and would be a very costly and difficult text to transcribe for merely archaeological purposes.

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its Italian custodians, who had themselves become poor judges of such matters, for Italy was then terribly troubled by the Lombards and other invaders, and they would be willing to part with it to a rich Northern traveller anxiously in search of manuscripts for his new monastery. The fact of Jerome's text having become so widely recognised would, we cannot doubt, make it very unlikely that the same Northern traveller would have a new copy made of the older version on this grand scale. Again, both writing and designs in the first quaternion are so Italian in style and so different from anything English written at this time, that it seems conclusive, if it was a copy, and not an original, that it was copied in Italy. I think some of Mr. White's hesitation in the matter is a little strained, and I agree with the paragraph in which he argues that the first quaternion was bodily transferred from the actual 'codex grandior' to its present place. 'The codex grandior was certainly,' he says, 'in north Britain, for Bede saw it there.' It may well have been the 'pandectes vetustae translationis' which Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid brought from Rome, and it would be quite in keeping with the times that Ceolfrid, in presenting his magnificent new pandect to the holy see, should have tacked to it the quaternion, which had hitherto stood at the beginning of Cassiodorus' Old Latin pandect, and was so handsomely decorated.

A large part of this was in print before I met with Bishop Browne's discussion of the problem in the *Guardian* of 1887. This makes our concurrence at this point more interesting. 'It appears to be supposed,' he says, 'that the three pandects which Ceolfrid caused to be written were all alike, and that the Amiatinus is one of the three copies, pictures and all. An examination of the ornamental part leads to a very different conclusion, namely that at least the Ezra pictures and the Solomon's temple, which is, in fact, the tabernacle in full detail, are not copies made in England but the original pictures of Cassiodorus.'

The next question is as to the time when the codex came to England. The life of Ceolfrid says that it was he who brought it here from Rome. Now the first visit Ceolfrid paid to Italy was in 678,[1] when he accompanied his

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii, p. 360.

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patron and friend, Benedict Biscop thither. This we learn from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, iv, 18, where he says:

> Cum enim idem Benedictus construxisset monasterium Britanniae in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis, juxta ostium fluminis Uiri [i.e. Jarrow], venit Romam cum cooperatore ac socio ejusdem operis Ceolfrido, qui post ipsum ejusdem monasterii abbas fuit.[1]

On this (as on other visits to Italy) Benedict Biscop, as Bede tells us, brought home 'innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam.' My conclusion, therefore, is, first, that Ceolfrid brought back to England the very manuscript called 'codex grandior' by Cassiodorus, and that it was from its text that Bede obtained so many of the passages which he quotes in different places from 'the Old Latin,' and, secondly, that it was this very manuscript which was decapitated by Ceolfrid, who placed its earlier pages in front of the codex he intended for the pope.

Let us now detach the intrusive first quaternions from the Codex Amiatinus and turn to the text in its original form. According to the anonymous lives of the abbots of Monkwearmouth and of Bede, this codex was one of three copies which Ceolfrid had had made. The opinion widely current is that these copies were written in Northumbria. To this I entirely demur. The notion that they were written in Northumbria at this time seems to me incredible. The two monasteries over which Ceolfrid presided were very young. The books in the libraries, the ornaments for the churches, everything required for the ritual and service of the Church (so far as we can gather from the life of Benedict Biscop), had been brought from Italy or Gaul, and the possibility of such works as these three magnificent codices being turned out of the scriptoria of the two convents *at this date* seems quite incredible. Even Dr. Hort and Mr. White, who hold this view, postulate that Ceolfrid must have brought an Italian scribe with him; but surely three enormous pandects like these, requiring parchments of very large size and quality, could never have been produced in Northumbria at this time by the hands of one

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, i, 241.

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scribe or of two scribes. They must have come from a practised and well-known school of writers and scribes, and such a school could only at this time have been found in south Italy. It must be remembered that it is not only the size and quality of the parchment and the beauty of the writing in this manuscript which are so attractive, but the accuracy and excellence of the text. My readers will remember the plaintive language used by Bede about the very indifferent provision for manuscript-writing that existed in the monasteries with which he had such close ties, and how he himself had had to perform most of the drudgery of copying (Ipse mihi dictator simul notarius et librarius[1]).

There is another reason against the English origin of the Amiatine codex which I have not seen noticed. The text of the Lindisfarne Gospels is now generally accepted as having been derived from the Amiatine manuscript, and on this point Bishop Browne says: 'There are some remarkable agreements between the first quaternions of the Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The Lindisfarne St. Matthew is Ezra pure and simple in curiously exact detail, stool and all, but the stool is ornamented with little circles in place of the classical scroll on Ezra's stool. . . . The canons in the two manuscripts present a series of striking coincidences from the point of view of ornament and arrangement. As regards their text, Amiatinus breaks down over VIII and VIIII, and does not find it out; Lindisfarne also misread the VIIII and wrote something wrong in the place of X, but found it out and altered it.'[2]

Now the Lindisfarne Gospels, as we know, were written for St. Cuthbert and belonged to him. St. Cuthbert died in the year 687, so that they must have been written before that date and after Ceolfrid's first return from Italy in 678. Is it credible that these four manuscripts could all have been written in the same small scriptorium during these same nine years, three purely Italian in script and decoration, and the other the finest existing specimen of Celtic art? I cannot believe it.

[1] Preface to Bede, *St. Luke.*

[2] London *Guardian*, 27th April, 1887.

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Again, if the pandects had been produced in Northumbria we should surely have found traces of Northumbrian art such as we find in what I take to be their real Northumbrian daughter, namely, the Lindisfarne Gospels, a work of much more moderate size, but teeming with that local colour from which the Codex Amiatinus is quite free. Those who claim a Northumbrian origin for the Codex Amiatinus tell us, as I have said, that it was written by Italian scribes. This was first suggested by Dr. Hort in the *Academy* of 26th February, 1887; the view was supported by Sir E. Maunde Thompson.[1] Mr. White also says that as a Roman musician was brought over to teach the English monks to sing, so an Italian scribe may well have come to instruct them in writing, and the Amiatine Bible may be the work of a foreigner though written in England.[2] This solution, even if it were consistent with the difficulties to be met, leaves an important matter unresolved. If the three pandects of the new version were copied in England some time between 678 and 687, whence was the text derived from which they were copied? I have not seen this question put by anyone. The solution of Mr. White and others that the three copies were made in Northumbria compels the further conclusion that the mother manuscript from which they were taken was at the time in Northumbria. If so, it is not easy to see why Ceolfrid should have gone to the great expense of having three fresh copies made on this scale; for his needs were completely satisfied when he had secured two additional copies, making three altogether, namely, one each for his two monasteries and one for the pope. Nor have we any trace of, or reference to, any other copy but these three. There are other reasons which seem to me to make it difficult to believe that the three copies were made in Northumbria. The writing out of these three enormous pandects was so great a feat that if it had been accomplished by scribes in Northumbria it would in all probability have been recorded by Bede or in the anonymous life of Ceolfrid, which merely say that Ceolfrid had the copies made, without saying where. Again, if Ceolfrid could command scribes in Northumbria capable of writing out these codices, he would assuredly, in preparing

[1] See *Palaeography*, pp. 194 and 245. [2] op. cit. 285.

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the copy for the pope, have also prepared a suitable heading and not decapitated another fine manuscript in order to procure one. It is, lastly, hard to imagine whence the quite unusually large sheets of parchment in such abundance could have been forthcoming in Britain or anywhere else in the West at this time. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the three copies were not only made by Italians, but were made in Italy. The next question is, in which part of Italy were they made, and where was the mother manuscript whence they were taken ?

Upon this problem a good deal of light has recently accumulated, going to show that not only was the mother text in question a south Italian manuscript, but that it was one of the texts described by Cassiodorus as in his possession. Dom Chapman has pointed out that ' the arrangement of the text of the Codex Amiatinus, *per cola et commata*, after the example of St. Jerome himself, is not peculiar to this text, but its divisions seem to have been particularly well preserved in it. Now Cassiodorus had been careful as to this very point, as he tells us in his preface to the *Institutio*. Again, the word *pandectes*, as applied to the Codex Amiatinus both by the anonymous author of the abbots' lives and by Bede, is precisely the word used by Cassiodorus for a complete Bible. Thirdly, the order of the groups of books in the Codex Amiatinus, and in that alone among vulgate texts, is the same as the order which was followed by Cassiodorus (a fact important to note for other reasons). It is plain that the ordering of groups and books within the groups in the Codex Amiatinus and by Cassiodorus is a peculiar and unique one, and that they agree in the peculiarity.' As Dom Chapman again says : ' The Amiatine list is a list of the books in St. Jerome's version arranged in the same nine groups as those of the antiqua translatio, or codex grandior, and of the nine volumes of Cassiodorus ; but the interior order of the groups is that of St. Jerome. We know that in Cassiodorus' nine volumes this was the case, as in the volume containing Solomon's works ; while in that of the Epistles he certainly put those of St. Paul first and not last, as they were in the antiqua translatio. But the number of books is counted as seventy with that list, and not forty-nine with St. Jerome. It seems to be

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plain that this grouping in the text can only be due to one cause, namely, that it is derived from that of the nine volumes of Cassiodorus. In these the grouping was obviously due to the necessity of fitting the commentaries into volumes of more or less equal size. It would not have arisen independently in a codex which contained the Hieronymian vulgate only, without the commentaries. The size, again, of the Codex Amiatinus is the same as that which is otherwise known as the codex grandior of Cassiodorus.'[1] Without committing myself to every statement in this account, it seems to me to make the conclusion incontestable that the mother manuscript of the text of the Codex Amiatinus was in the library of Cassiodorus in the monastery of Scyllacium in the extreme south of Italy. As we have already seen, Ceolfrid's copy of the older version also came from the same great scriptorium, and was most probably the very copy of the Old Latin version described by Cassiodorus as the 'codex grandior.' This increases the probability that the ultimate source of both texts was the same Cassiodorian collection. We can hardly doubt, therefore, that when Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid visited Italy (very largely, no doubt, in search of manuscripts and other requisites for their services and for their library), they probably made their way to Scyllacium, whose secluded situation protected it from the ravage which was then overtaking the rest of Italy. Nothing is more natural. It was doubtless from that great manufactory of manuscripts that they secured the 'codex grandior' which they took back with them, and it was there also that they either commissioned the three copies of the new translation which are mentioned by the author of Ceolfrid's biography and by Bede, or else purchased three copies which had been made there and were on sale.

Having traced the later history of the codex presented by Ceolfrid to the pope and known as Amiatinus, a word or two may be said about the other copies given by Ceolfrid to his two monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. Until a short time ago these codices were deemed to be

[1] See Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 19 and 20.

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irretrievably lost. A leaf from one of them, however, has been recently recovered by Canon Greenwell, and is described by Mr. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x, 540–544. It was picked up in a bookseller's shop at Newcastle.

It has been known for some time that in the library of Lord Middleton at Wollaton in Nottinghamshire there are ten leaves of a Bible which have been supposed with great probability to have belonged to this or to another of Ceolfrid's codices.[1] They once formed the covers for chartularies of the Willoughby estates which were bound not earlier than the reign of Edward VI. They consist, like the Greenwell leaf, of parts of the book of Kings, and agree with the Greenwell leaf in their details.[2] The publication of these leaves, it is understood, has been undertaken by Mr. Turner. It is a matter of regret that their publication has been so long delayed, for the precious manuscript is one of the first moment to everyone interested in Bible studies.

Some fragments of a codex also exist at Utrecht bound up with the famous Utrecht psalter. They consist of parts of Matthew and John. Scrivener and Miller speak of them as written in an Anglian hand strongly resembling that of the Codex Amiatinus.[3] Sir Frederic Kenyon says the fragments are written in a hand closely resembling that of the Amiatine, and *evidently produced in the same scriptorium*.[4] This points to the Utrecht fragments having also come from one of the two sister manuscripts given by Ceolfrid to his two abbeys.

If, then, the Codex Amiatinus and its companions be traced to Italy and shown to be directly derived from the famous pandect in nine volumes prepared by Cassiodorus, it has a much higher title to our reverence and confidence. We can now confidently affirm of one of the volumes once at Jarrow, namely, the 'codex grandior,' that it represented very faithfully a text of the latter part of the sixth century, and not later than 580; while the text of the three pandects

[1] Described in the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission for* 1911, 196 and 611.

[2] See D. S. Boutflower, *The Life of Ceolfrid*, 114–116.

[3] *Introd. to the Crit. of the New Testament*, ii, 83.

[4] ibid. 198.

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of the new version also dated from the same period and was written under the eye of one of the greatest scholars of the time, possessed of much means and a very ample library, who had devoted great pains to its preparation; and it is plain that by an analysis of the Codex Amiatinus we shall ascertain what the Bible of Cassiodorus really was. It may be, indeed, that this particular copy presented to the pope was in fact the 'Urtext' or original mother manuscript compiled by and representing the syncretic notions of Cassiodorus himself, and that it alone had an ornamented title-page now represented by folio 4 of the Amiatine manuscript, that it alone bore the paintings of Christ and the evangelists with their symbols on the back of folio 79*b*, where the Old Testament ends, and that the other two copies left at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were not so much decorated.

Let us now shortly analyse the contents of the Codex Amiatinus, or, as we may call it, the Bible of Cassiodorus, omitting the first eight leaves, which, as we have seen, were transferred from another text.

On page 9, which has no title, we find St. Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch, addressed to Desiderius. Then come the words in larger letters which are gilt, 'Explic. prolog. Incip. capit. lib. Genes.' Then follows Genesis in sixty-three chapters. The chapters are generally divided into verses, which are shorter than those in the usual editions. It ends with the words 'Explic. lib. Gen.'

On folio 50 we have 'Liber Exodi. incipiunt capit.' with fourteen chapters: it ends with the words, 'Explic. *Hellesmot* id est Exodus feliciter.'

On folio 86 we have 'Incip. capit. Levitici,' with sixteen chapters. At the end we read, 'Expliciunt capitula. Incipit liber Leviticus qui hebraice dicitur *Vaiecra* lege feliciter;' and then, 'Epl. Leviticus qui hebraice dicitur *Vaiecra*. Lege felix.'

On folio 110 we have 'Incipiunt capitula libri Numerorum,' with nineteen chapters. At the end, 'Explic. capit. Incipit liber Numerorum qui appellatur hebraice *Vaieddaber* Gloria individuae trinitati Amen.'

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On folio 144 Deuteronomy commences without any title. Its chapters are twenty, and it ends with the words in uncials, 'Expliciunt Capitula. Incipit liber Deuteronomium qui hebraice dicitur *Helleaddabarim*. Deo laudes ; Lege feliciter Amen. Ora pro me,' with the letters arranged :

P
ORA
O
M
E

Fol. 174. The prologue to Joshua, after which come the chapters of that book, numbering ten.

Fol. 194. The words 'Capitula Judicum ;' then the chapters, twenty-one in number.

Fol. 215. The words 'Incipit Lib. Ruth,' with four chapters, numbered in the margin.

Fol. 228. Jerome's prologue to the book of Kings, headed 'Praefatio Regnorum. Incipit brevis,' with ninety chapters in a continuous numeration. Chapter xlvii begins with a larger capital than the other chapters, while its first word is written in gold and with a gap as if beginning a new book. Then comes another enumeration of chapters, one in thirty and the other in twenty-four.

Fol. 275. Without any preface, there begin here the chapters of the third and fourth books of Kings, eighty-four in number. At the end of the third book is the word 'Finit,' which belongs properly to chapter lii. Here again we have a larger initial and a space, while all the first verse is gilt.

The former two books are entitled at the tops of the pages 'Samuhel,' and the latter two 'Malachim,' without any distinction into first and second.

Fol. 329. The two books of Paralipomena, with the title and the preface of St. Jerome ; between the two is a space and a gilt capital. At the heads of the pages is the word 'Paralipomenon,' without any distinction into two books.

Fol. 379. Without any title, comes the book of Psalms, with Jerome's preface addressed to Sophronios. Then the words, 'Psalmus David de Joseph dicit qui corpus Christi sepelivit.'

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Fol. 419. The proverbs of Solomon, with Jerome's preface, in thirty chapters.

Fol. 437. The book of Ecclesiastes, with twelve chapters.

Fol. 443. Liber Canticum Canticorum, in eight chapters.

Fol. 447. Sapientia or Wisdom, in thirteen chapters.

Fol. 460. Jerome's preface to Ecclesiasticus, then the chapters of the book, twenty-six in number. This book is larger in this text than in the vulgate. At the end we have the words, 'Explicit liber ecclesiasticus Salomonis.'

Fol. 476. Isaiah, preceded by Jerome's prologue and the list of chapters, 158 in number.

Fol. 536. Jeremiah with Jerome's preface and ending with the words, 'Explicit liber Hieremiae prophetae.' In the last chapter are contained the four lamentations and the prayer of Jeremiah.

Fol. 590. Ezekiel, with Jerome's prologue and the index of chapters, 110 in number.

Fol. 633. Daniel bears the title, 'Incip. lib. Danihelis prop.; then follows, 'Praefatio beati Hieronimi,' followed by thirty-one chapters. The book ends, 'et devorati sunt in momento coram eo. Amen. Expl. Danihel propheta.'

Fol. 650. Then follow twelve 'Prophetae minores,' preceded by Jerome's preface. Then the elenchus of titles, with the number of chapters in each book. The order is: Osea with eight chapters, Joel with five, Amos with ten, Abdea with one, Jonah with two, Micea with seven, Naum with one, Abacuc with three, Sofonia with one, Aggeo with one, Zaccaria with fifteen, and Malachia with three.

Fol. 682. Job with thirty-six chapters, ending 'Expliciunt capitula Job, Incipit ipse liber feliciter.'

Fol. 701. Tobias with prologue, without any division into chapters.

Fol. 709. Judith, preceded by Jerome's prologue and with the enumeration of sixteen chapters.

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Fol. 729. Esther, with its prologue and division into sixteen chapters.

Fol. 730. The book of Esdras, preceded by Jerome's preface and forming only one book but divided into two parts, the first of which begins, ' In anno primo Cyri, etc. ; ' the second, after an interval of ten lines, in the middle of which in larger letters is written ' Neemia,' the text commencing ' Verba Neemiae.' It ends with the words ' Expl. lib. Ezrae sive Neemiae.' It contains no ancient enumeration of chapters. It will be noted as remarkable that although Cassiodorus in the Codex Amiatinus follows the old Latin Bible in his canon, he apparently fails to do so in ignoring the first book of Esdras and perhaps the fourth. This was doubtless due to the very ruthless language applied to these books by Jerome, which seems to have overpowered the judgment of the great scholar of Scyllacium.

Fol. 750. Two books of Maccabees, the first with sixty-one and the second with fifty-five chapters, and ending with the words ' Explicit Macchabeorum libri duo, Deo gratias Amen, feliciter qui legis amen.'

It seems quite plain from this list of contents that the mother text from which the Codex Amiatinus and its two sisters were copied was a codex written under the superintendence and direction of Cassiodorus and was partially the result of his syncretic work, *and that it does not represent Jerome's unadulterated text at all.* It is clear, in fact, that both in its list of contents and also in the actual books it varies from Jerome's own Bible. It contains several books treated by Jerome as uncanonical, e.g. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobias, Judith, and two books of Maccabees. The most remarkable evidence that points to the text of the Codex Amiatinus as it stands being other than Jerome's text is to be found, however, in a comparison of its contents with those in Jerome's actual text as it existed in the library of Cassiodorus and as given in the twelfth chapter of his work already cited. It seems impossible, therefore, to claim the Codex Amiatinus as a text of Jerome's version, much less as the best existing type of that version. It is no doubt largely based on Jerome's text, but it seems to me to be really a new edition by Cassiodorus. This conclusion is

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very important when we remember that the first Carlovingian Bibles were so largely dependent on it.

It is assuredly also a matter of high importance for the criticism of the Latin Bible to realise that we have in the Codex Amiatinus and in Bede's biblical extracts samples of the eclectic Bible text accepted in the sixth century A.D. as the best critical text available by the best biblical scholar of that age, and it greatly enhances the value and importance of Bede's quotations from it.

May I add one further fact which strengthens the view that in the Codex Amiatinus we may have the very copy of the new Bible compiled by Cassiodorus which formed his critical text, and not a mere copy of it made for Ceolfrid, namely, that at the end of the prologue to Leviticus we have a barbarous Greek inscription in the words :

Ο ΚΤΡΙC CΕΡΒΑΝΔΟC ΑΙ ΠΟΙΗCΕΝ.

These words show that, when he wrote them, this Serbandos or Servandus, who was clearly no Englishman but the Italian scribe of the manuscript, was living in a part of Italy where Greek was still understood, and this could only have been in the old land of Magna Graecia in the extreme south of Italy. Bishop Browne says of this entry that 'it is by the same hand as the rest' : the separation of ΑΙ from ΠΟΙΗCΕΝ (originally, perhaps, ΠΟΙΕΙ) should not be called a mistake, for we have here other examples of spacing out so as to make one word into two. Another thing occurs to me. Such enormous pandects as these must have taken a long time to write, and could not have been written during Ceolfrid's short stay in Italy. They must either have been sent after him to England, or else, which is more probable, they were copies of this very fine text kept for sale at the scriptorium at Scyllacium.[1]

[1] Professor White, who has read this paper, assures me that his main difficulty in accepting my view lies in the suggestion that Ceolfrid should have sent back to the pope as a present what he had himself bought in, and brought back from, Italy. This does not seem to me so strange. As I have shewn in my history of St. Gregory the Great, perhaps no part of the Mediterranean lands was at this time so poor in books as Rome and the Roman territory. The libraries there had apparently been utterly destroyed, and the great pope, in writing to his correspondents, excuses himself for not being able

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I venture to add a further fact suggested to me by Bishop Browne. In the library at Durham (B. II, 30) is a copy of the commentary of Cassiodorus on the Psalms, traditionally said to have been written by Bede.[1] In an early list of the Durham books it is referred to in the margin with the words 'manu Bedae.' This may also have been brought from Scyllacium by Ceolfrid.

to lend them books, because they were so hard to obtain in Rome, and confesses that some very important ones could not be found there, notably the great work of Tertullian, and even such necessary books as authoritative copies of the conciliar Canons. How likely would it be, therefore, that when the great library at Scyllacium was broken up and dispersed, some of its treasures having fallen into the hands of the book-loving monks from Northumbria, that one of them, Ceolfrid, who had secured treasures from that source should combine two of them into a lordly volume to place at the feet of the great pontiff, his master, as the most valued gift he could make him.

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, i, xx, note 3.

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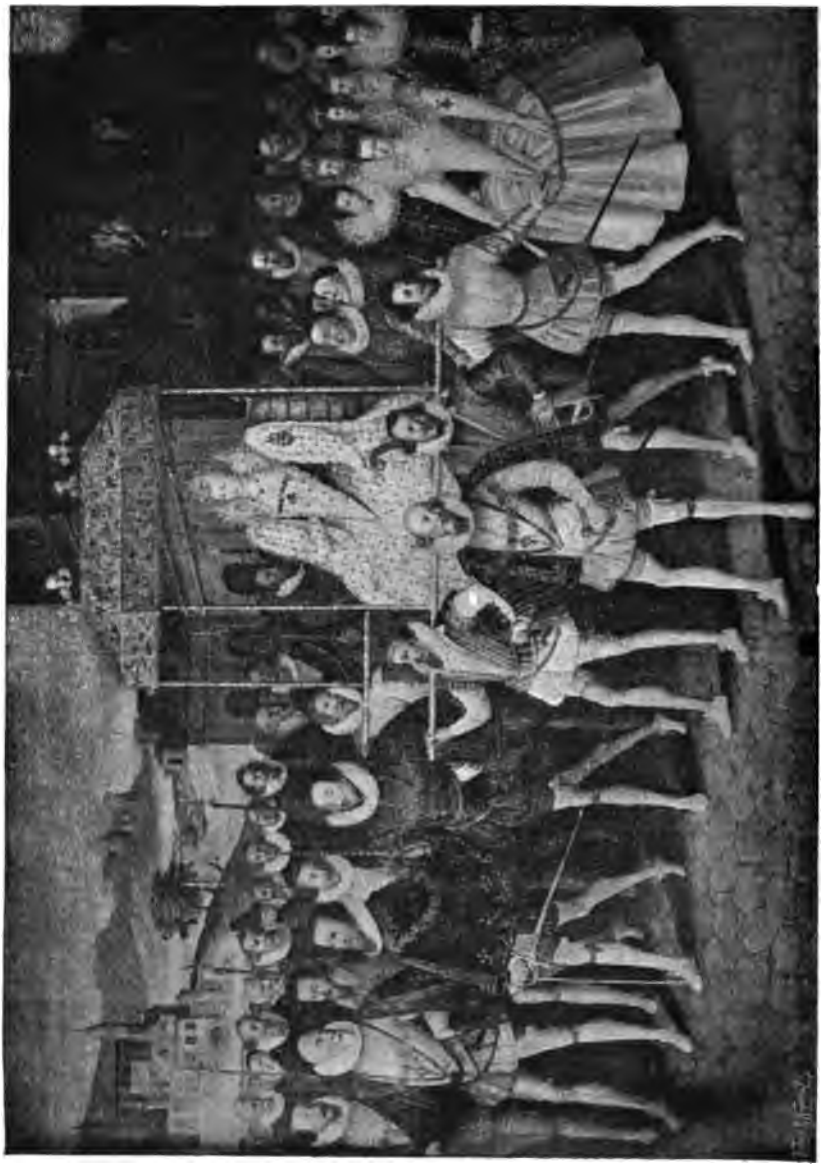

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PROCESSION TO BLACKFRIARS.

From a painting at Sherborne, Dorset: reproduced by permission of Wingfield Digby, Esq. and the Editor of *Country Life*.

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# A PROCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO BLACKFRIARS.

By the VISCOUNT DILLON, M.A. D.C.L. F.S.A.

In 1866 the late Sir George Scharf contributed to the *Archaeological Journal* a paper on the subject of two pictures supposed to be identical and purporting to represent the royal procession of queen Elizabeth to visit the right honourable Henry Carey lord Hunsdon, and others.[1]

Sir George's paper referred to the picture shown at Manchester by lord Digby's permission in 1857, and also seen in the Tudor exhibition of 1890 (plate 1). The paper proved that Virtue's description of this picture was erroneous, and that in fact the subject was the attendance of the queen at the marriage in 1600 of Anne Russell, one of her maids of honour to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Worcester.[2]

The change of date from about 1571 to 1600 naturally greatly disturbed the attributions of many of the portraits assigned by Virtue, for twenty-nine years makes many changes. Sir George then gave the following as the names of the men (from left to right): lord Howard of Walden, the earl of Nottingham, the earl of Cumberland, lord Hunsdon, lord Cobham, lord Herbert of Cardiff, the earl of Worcester, Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Herbert, and the bridegroom. As to the ladies Sir George did not venture on more than two or three suggestions, such as lady Cobham, and the countess of Nottingham.

[1] *Archaeol. Journ.* xxiii, 131.

[2] This marriage had been arranged with the queen's approval in April.

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It may seem presumptuous to question the accuracy of so great an authority on portraiture as our old friend and Fellow Sir George Scharf, but since his death in 1892, part X of the *Calendar of the Hatfield Papers* was published in 1904, and in that volume we have information which suggests some variation from his list. There is also a letter of 24th June, 1600, printed in the Camden Society's Chamberlain letters, which apparently escaped his notice, although he refers to an earlier one of 13th June in the same volume.

As regards the Hatfield papers, in a letter written by lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil on 21st April, she asks him to get the queen to let her fetch Anne away for altogether the Monday after St. George's day 'that she may take physic for her eyes, which in truth be very ill, before the time of her marriage, which I mean shall be before the Pentecost' (11th June). Lady Russell also asks that 'the bonds of matrimony be asked in her majesty's chapel.' 'And therefore good Mr. Secretary let her be asked by your commandment the next Sunday in any wise.'

There is another letter at Hatfield calendared as of about 9th June, containing many details as to the wedding, which was to take place and did take place on 16th June.

Lady Russell says: 'I mean God willing on the 9th June, being Monday next, to fetch home my bride. I entreat none but such as be of the bride's and bridegroom's blood and alliance to supper that night. The earl of Worcester with his countess, the earl of Cumberland with his lady, the lady of Warwick, the earl of Bedford with his lady will sup here. If it please you to do the like and as my husband to command as the master of my house for that supper and to bring my lord Thomas and my lord Cobham with you, being of our blood, and your servants (and) lord Thomas' men and my lord Cobham, to be commanded to wait and bring up meat that supper, I will trouble you no longer than for a supper time that night till the same day sevennight, being the 16th of June, which God willing shall be the marriage day. . . . I and my lord Barkley's wife, with other knights' ladies and gentlewomen, accompanied with the earl of Cumberland, Sir Henry Lee, Sir

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NO. 2. THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, K.G. AT HAMPTON COURT.

NO. 1. PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY LEE, K.G. AT DITCHLEY, OXON.

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Anthony Cope and others do mean to go on Monday morning to fetch away my virgins. You thought that I should never have bidden you to my marriage. But now you see it pleases God otherwise. Where [sic] I pray you dispose yourself to be very merry and to command as master of the house. For your welcome shall be in the superlative degree. Your most loving Aunt.'

The next letter in point of date is that of 13th June, from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in which he says: 'We shall have the great marriage on Monday at the lady Russells where it is saide the quene will vouchsafe her presence, and lie at the lord chamberlain's or the lord Cobham's whose marriage is thought likewise shalbe then consummated if it be not don alredy.'[1]

Again on 24th June Chamberlain writes: 'I doubt not but you have heard of the great marriage at the lady Russells where the quene was present, being caried from the waterside in a curious chaire and lodged at the lord Cobham's.'

One more letter may be quoted from the Hatfield papers. It is of 8th December, 1600, and lady Russell writes to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I would come by boat and visit you, only to see how you do, though my heart will not yet serve me to come to court, to fill place. I there [sic] shall come in with tears by remembrances of her that is gone....[2] PS. I am such a beggar in debt since the marriage of my daughter your cousin, as I am not able to keep coach-horses in town nor to hire any, and therefore mean to come by water. You must not blame my beggary, for then you shall mar my marriage for ever.'

Before considering the persons referred to in the foregoing letters, it may be interesting to note those mentioned by contemporary writers as present at the wedding. Rowland Whyte, writing on 23rd June to Sir Robert

[1] As a matter of fact lord Cobham's marriage did not take place till the 27th May, 1601, when he was contracted in marriage to Frances the daughter of the earl of Nottingham and widow of Henry earl of Kildare.

[2] This was a daughter Elizabeth who, like Anne, had been maid of honour to the queen, and in March, 1599, lady Russell refers to 'Bess's almost six years' service.' Elizabeth Russell died 2nd July, 1600.

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Sidney, enumerates lord Herbert and his wife (the bride and bridegroom); lord Cobham 'who provided the lectica, made like a litter, for the queen'; lady Russell, the bride's mother; lord Herbert of Cardiff, who with lord Cobham led the bride to the church; and the earls of Rutland and Cumberland, who led her from the church. Then in a letter of 14th June by the same writer, the following 'ladies who danced, my lady Doritye, Mrs. Fetton, Mrs. Carey, Mrs. Onslow, Mrs. Southwell, Mrs. Bess Russell, Mrs. Darcy, my lady Blanche Somerset.'

John Chamberlain, in his letter of 13th June to Dudley Carleton, mentions lady Russell, lord Hunsdon, and lord Cobham (where the queen was lodged).

Of the men named by lady Russell the following notes will explain their presence at the wedding.

Edward fourth earl of Worcester[1] was father of lord Herbert, the bridegroom, later fifth earl, and of lord Thomas, later lord Somerset of Cassell. George earl of Cumberland[2] had been in the guardianship of Francis second earl of Bedford, whose daughter, lady Margaret, he married. Edward third earl of Bedford was nephew of the dowager lady Russell, and married Lucy, daughter of John lord Harrington of Exton.

Sir Robert Cecil, later lord Salisbury, was nephew of the dowager lady Russell, his wife Elizabeth being sister to lord Cobham, the host of the queen and of the wedding party.

Sir Henry Lee,[3] through the Cookes of Gidea hall, was second cousin once removed to the dowager lady Russell. Sir Anthony Cope, beyond being a great friend of Sir Henry Lee and of the dowager, was no relation.

Of the ladies named by the dowager, the countesses of Bedford and of Cumberland were respectively niece of the dowager and aunt of the bride. The lady of Warwick, widow of Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick, was sister of the dowager. Lady Berkeley was Elizabeth Stanhope, dowager lady Townshend and aunt of Sir John Townshend

[1] K.G. 1593.
[2] K.G. 1592.
[3] K.G. 1597.

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who had married Anne, granddaughter of lady Bacon, sister of the dowager lady Russell. This was a far-off and complicated relationship.

Miss Bess Russell, one of the lady dancers at the wedding, was Elizabeth Russell, sister of the bride. She died 2nd July in the same year, and is 'her that is gone' in lady Russell's letter of 8th December, 1600.

The company actually present has now been disposed of, and it is only necessary to refer to the persons suggested by Sir George Scharf. The earl of Nottingham, as we have shown, is not mentioned by any contemporary authority, nor were Sir Walter Raleigh nor Camden the historian. Lord Hunsdon as lord chamberlain may have been present officially, and lord Herbert of Cardiff, who, according to Rowland Whyte, led the bride from the church, was no relation on either side. The earl of Rutland also was only connected by the fact that his aunt, lady Elizabeth Manners, married Sir William Cecil, later earl of Exeter.

The chief difficulty now is to account for the six knights of the Garter seen in the picture, and it is suggested that in place of the earl of Nottingham we should place Sir Henry Lee, K.G. In 1600 he was 69 years of age, while the earl was 64. In support of this idea we may compare a portrait of Sir Henry Lee in 1602, now at Ditchley, Oxon. (plate II, no. 1) and the figure of the earl as seen in the picture at Sherborne.

As to the six knights of the Garter seen in the picture, George earl of Cumberland received the order in 1592; the earl of Worcester in 1593; lord Hunsdon in 1597, the same year as did Sir Henry Lee; lord Cobham in 1599. This accounts for five, and if we may suppose that the picture was painted somewhat later than the event recorded (not as Virtue wrongly stated about 1580), we have Sir Robert Cecil, later earl of Salisbury and knight of the Garter in 1605.

By the courtesy of Mr. Wingfield Digby, and the kind assistance of the editor of *Country Life*, a reproduction of a photograph taken for that paper is given here (plate I)

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with a reproduction of Sir Henry Lee[1] at Ditchley (plate II, no. 1). It will be seen that the Sherborne picture may as well represent the knight who was present as the earl (plate II, no. 2) who is neither noted as present nor had any claim on the score of blood or alliance.

It may be of interest to note that, although the two pictures referred to above have not as yet come together, still those who are curious in the matter may see careful reproductions of both in the third volume of the Walpole Society's publications.

[1] Dated 1602 when he was 71; the earl of Nottingham was 66.

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THE CHESTERFIELD ARMOUR.

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## THE CHESTERFIELD ARMOUR IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK.

By the VISCOUNT DILLON, M.A. D.C.L. F.S.A.

In March, 1911, appeared in *Country Life* a short note on armour made by Jacob Topf, at that date rather prominently before the public. The armour then noticed consisted of portions of two suits made respectively for lord Compton and Mr. Skidmur or Scudamore. These portions of suits were in a very bad condition owing to rust and other causes, and there were not enough pieces of either suit to fit them for exhibition. The public idea of a suit is enough pieces to cover a man from head to foot, but the real idea of a suit of armour would mean many more pieces than that. A suit would consist of pieces which would cover and protect a man in the various kinds of combats which took place in the lists, for mounted exercises, and for fights on foot under various conditions; all these in addition to those portions necessary for actual fighting in war. These portions of two distinct suits passed, like so many other interesting objects, to the other side of the Atlantic, and have lately appeared in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, but, ah! how changed. Probably the authorities know their public and feel that they would not care for scraps, so the restorer has been at work and a figure has been produced which will no doubt satisfy the non-critical visitor to the Metropolitan Museum. It may be a prejudice, but here in England we prefer to see objects of antiquity as they have come down to us, and no one has been bold enough to restore the Elgin marbles and such-like.

In the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. VIII, no. 6, is an illustration giving front and back views of the 'Armor of Sir James Scudamore as at present exhibited.' This with other illustrations referring to the 'armor' is accompanied by an interesting note over the initials B. D. The bulletin, while mentioning that missing plates were added, notes also that 'the date of the restoration and the signature of the maker' have been engraved

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on these modern additions, and 'will also be noted in the descriptive label.' So far so good, but not good at all. It is also stated that 'for temporary exhibition parts of the two suits have been associated.'

Now if a figure were exhibited, carefully labelled, in which George Washington's hat, Benjamin Franklin's breeches and Arnold's coat, were *associated*, would an American public be satisfied? and yet such a figure would not be more absurd than this armour of Sir James Scudamore.

B. D. suggests that 'as a result of grafting several generations of armorers of various nationalities, mainly German, upon an English stock, there had been produced a school of English armorers in the royal armor-ateliers.' From 1514 to 1575 there was hardly room for *several generations*, nor have we any evidence from the existence of other suits in England similar in excellence to Topf's work. Pickering, who made the fine suit of Henry prince of Wales, now at Windsor, does not belong to Topf's period, though no doubt in later years he did imitate the German's work fairly successfully. As to the non-appearance of the brayette in Elizabethan armour, what *was* said was, that in portraits of that period, painted in England, such an article of dress never appears.

B. D.'s idea about 'a certain heaviness in form, large-jointed and loose-fitting, all in the substantial honest comfortable work which marks the English artist-artizan' is certainly peculiar, and it would be interesting to know on what it is founded.

To conclude, we may just note how Sir James Scudamore is built up and *associated*, considering the old materials at hand.

The burgonet belongs to the Compton suit; the breast and back belong to the Scudamore suit; the right and left arms (much repaired) to the Compton suit; the gauntlets and one of the taces are new. The cuisses and knee-pieces belong to the Compton suit with one new plate; the right jamb and the left jamb front belong to the Scudamore suit; the back part of the latter is new; the solerets, both much repaired, belong to the Scudamore suit.

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THE CHESTERFIELD ARMOUR.

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# THE ROMANO-BRITISH NAMES OF RAVENGLASS AND BORRANS (MUNCASTER AND AMBLESIDE).

By Prof. HAVERFIELD, Litt.D. F.S.A.

No section of the Antonine Itinerary is so obscure or so disputed as that which English antiquaries call Iter X, that which runs from Clanoventa to Mediolanum.[1] Innumerable suggestions have been offered as to its course, but no one has yet hit on a theory which has commanded the approval of any one else. I do not myself pretend to have found the key to the riddle. But, so far as the northern half, that is, the first four stages, of the Iter are concerned, it seems possible to restate the few facts in a way which may at least help future inquirers.

Translated into English, the Itinerary runs as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clanoventa to Galava | .. .. | 18 | Roman miles. |
| Galava to Alone .. | .. .. | 12 | „ „ |
| Alone to Calacum .. | .. .. | 19 | „ „ |
| Calacum to Bremetonacum | .. .. | 27 | „ „ |
| Bremetonacum to Coccium | .. .. | 20 | „ „ |
| Coccium to Mancunium | .. .. | 17 | „ „ |
| Mancunium to Condate | .. .. | 18 | „ „ |
| Condate to Mediolanum | .. .. | 19 | „ „ |

Where this route began and where it ended is quite obscure; fortunately, the fifth, sixth and seventh names give a clue to its middle portion and its general course. Bremetonacum, more usually spelt Bremetennacum, was the name of the Roman fort on the Ribble, eight miles east of Preston in Lancashire; Coccium was that of the Roman site at Wigan, and Mancunium (though the proper spelling may be doubtful) was that of the Roman fort at

[1] pp. 481, 482, Wess.

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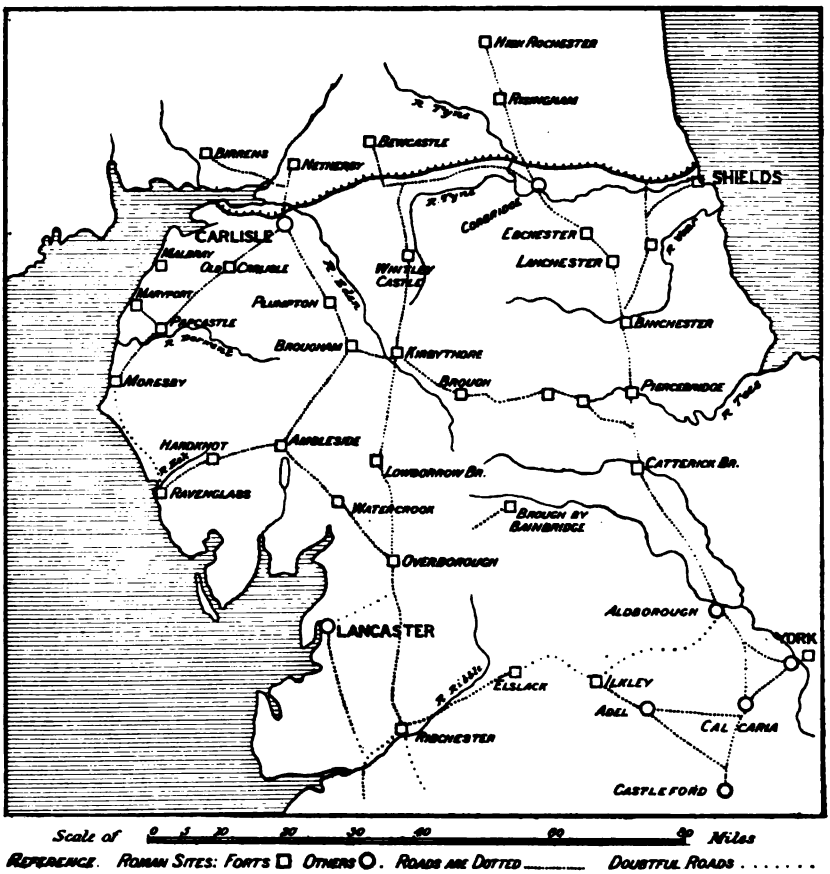


FIG. I. ROMAN ROADS IN NORTH-WEST BRITAIN.

This map is a sketch-plan, intended to show the general positions of the places and roads discussed in the paper which it illustrates. I believe it to be fairly correct in detail, but I will not assert that it puts every place in its mathematically true position or that it reproduces the distances between these places with mathematical exactitude. Absolute accuracy in minutiae is, indeed, unattainable on such small plans without an expense of time and money which the plans would seldom justify. Even the last and largest map of Roman Britain drawn by Kiepert (Berlin, 1893), on the scale of 1 : 2500000, puts some places several miles out of their true positions and distorts the distances between them seriously.

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Manchester. We have therefore to deal with a route which began somewhere north of Ribchester and ran south through Lancashire. Now the Roman roads which run out north or north-east from Ribchester are fairly well known (fig. 1). The two principal ones run nearly parallel and may have served almost as alternatives. One of these crossed the moors round the forest of Bowland and approached the fort of Overborough in the Lune valley, close to Kirkby Lonsdale. The other seems to have followed an easier, lowland, route to Lancaster and thence to Overborough, and perhaps also direct to Kendal: the roads are unfortunately obscure at this point. From Overborough there was access by well-known roads due north to the valleys of the Eden and South Tyne and the Roman forts in them, and thus to the middle and western portions of Hadrian's Wall. There was also access, past the fort at Watercrook (near Kendal), to the fort at Borran's Ring (near Ambleside), and thence over the Wrynose to the forts at Hardknot and at Muncaster, or, as it is more often called, Ravenglass, on the west Cumberland coast.[1] From Ambleside there was also a mountain trail over High Street to the Eden valley and the fort at Brougham Castle near Penrith. Besides these communications northwards, a road ran from Ribchester, north-east and east, by the fort at Elslack, towards the fort at Ilkley and the Leeds region. Finally, it is possible that a mountain trail connected Overborough with the fort which lies 22 miles north-east of it in Wensleydale at Brough by Bainbridge, but (save for three or four miles immediately south-west of Brough) very little is known of this road or, indeed, of any road to this fort.

In selecting from among these roads one which might fit our Iter, we may exclude these which run eastwards. They lead into districts where the names of the chief Roman sites are fairly well known, so that the Iter, if it passed that way, would surely have ended at one of these ascertained places, and not at the unknown Clanoventa. Thus, if it were argued that the route of the Iter ran by Elslack,

[1] The line of this road is not very clear throughout. Between the Wrynose and Hardknot passes it seems to have run along the left (south) bank of the infant Duddon. The disused roadway on the other bank, which the Ordnance Survey calls Roman, seemed to Mr. R. G. Collingwood, Mr. G. Wordsworth and myself, when we once examined it, to be connected with a disused farm-steading and to be modern.

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Ilkley and Adel (of which the Roman names happen to be unknown),[1] one would still expect it to end at either Isurium (Aldborough) or Calcaria (Newton Kyme) or Castleford (Legiolum). Moreover, the distances in the Itinerary do not agree with those of these sites; Elslack, for example, is not 27, but about 21, Roman miles from Ribchester, while Ilkley is about 13, not 19, Roman miles from Elslack. Similarly, any route which may have run from Ribchester by Bainbridge to the east-coast road-system would almost certainly have ended at some point on that system, of which point the name was otherwise recorded. We may conclude that, in all probability, the route of the Itinerary is to be sought north or north-west of Ribchester and along the lines of the first two roads mentioned above.

Here it may be well to add another piece of evidence, from the document known as the *Notitia Dignitatum*. This contains, among other things, a list of forts and garrisons on Hadrian's Wall, which stops short at Birdoswald (Amboglanna); it then continues:

praefectus alae Petrianae, Petrianis
praefectus numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum, Aballaba
tribunus cohortis ii Lingonum, Congavata
tribunus cohortis i Hispanorum, Axeloduno
tribunus cohortis ii Thracum, Gabrosenti
tribunus cohortis i Aeliae classicae, Tunnocelo
tribunus cohortis i Morinorum, Glannibanta
tribunus cohortis iii Nerviorum, Alione
cuneus Sarmatarum, Bremetenraco
praefectus alae Herculeae, Olenaco
tribunus cohortis vi Nerviorum, Virosido.[2]

Here plainly the sequence Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenraco, corresponds to the Itinerary's Clanoventa, Alone, Bremetonacum. Now this list of forts from the *Notitia* seems to belong to the west-coast counties, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland. For Aballaba is known to have been where Papcastle now stands near Cockermouth, while Axeloduno is the place-name, better spelt Uxello-

[1] Ilkley is often called Olicana, but Mr. W. H. Stevenson has shown that to be phonetically impossible (*English Historical Review*, 1912, p. 17, note 115). Actually the Romano-British name of Ilkley is unknown.

[2] *N.D.* Occ. xl, 45–56.

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dunum, which denoted the fort on the hill above Maryport,[1] and Bremetenracum is Ribchester. Moreover, as Chancellor Ferguson long ago pointed out, the garrisons assigned in the *Notitia* to Congavata and Gabrosentum recur on inscriptions at Moresby on the Cumberland coast, eleven miles south of Maryport, and it is therefore probable that one or other of these names was the ancient name of Moresby.

A further trace of this sequence of names occurs in the corrupt but valuable lists of the Ravenna Geographer (pp. 430, 431). There we find the following names :

Cantiventi (corrupt for Glannibanta or Clanoventa)
Iuliocenon (corrupt for Tunnocelum)
Gabrocentio (corrupt for Gabrosentum)
Alauna (variant of Alione)

followed very shortly by Bresnetaci, that is, Ribchester. Here again is a list of names connected with the western region.

It remains to consider what western forts can be connected with Iter X. From Ribchester to Overborough is about 28 English miles,[2] so that, if Calacum be put at Overborough, the Itinerary distance of 27 Roman miles is a little (say, two miles) too short. On the other hand, it is possible that Calacum may be Lancaster. The route from Ribchester to that town is unfortunately not known with precision at all points, though there is no real doubt that such a road existed; but it appears to have probably taken a line of about 25 English or 27 Roman miles, skirting the hills. From Overborough to Low Borrow Bridge, the next fort due north of it, along a quite certain road, is about 16 English miles, and this agrees moderately well with the Itinerary, which allots to its second stage 19 miles. On the other hand, from Lancaster to Watercrook is, as the crow flies, 18 miles; the road is very unlikely to have run quite straight, and may even have made a detour by

[1] That is proved by the numerous inscriptions of the Cohors i Hispanorum found at Maryport and by the fact that Uxellodunum is several times put next to Aballaba in our ancient authorities, while Aballaba is known to be Papcastle, and Papcastle is about 5 miles from Maryport and connected with it by an easily traceable Roman road.

[2] The last account of the road is that by Mr. W. Harrison in *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Society*, xxxi (1914), 69–87.

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Overborough, but here our ignorance of the actual road-lines prevents any positive assertion. It is obvious, however, that either a stage from Overborough to Low Borrow Bridge or one from Lancaster to Watercrook would fit moderately with the Itinerary. When we pass to the third stage, to which the Itinerary assigns 12 miles, there appears to be no fort which can be traced at the right distance north of Low Borrow Bridge. Either the Itinerary numerals must be thrown over or this line of country must be given up. On the other hand, there seems little doubt that a road connected Watercrook with the Borrans fort near Ambleside, and the length of this road may be calculated at about 12 English miles. We may then provisionally place Alone at Watercrook, and Galava at Ambleside. From Ambleside a track ran 18 miles over two mountain passes, Wrynose and Hardknot, to Muncaster and Ravenglass, where, on the shore of a large shallow harbour formed by the mouth of the Esk, are the still notable traces of a Roman fort. Its ancient name is not known. The only suggestion ever ventured by any responsible writer identifies it with Ravonia, which the Ravenna Geographer places somewhere in or near Cumberland or Westmorland. But it is pretty plain that Ravonia is merely a copyist's curtailment of Bravoniacum, the name of the Roman fort at Kirkby Thore in the Eden valley. We may then provisionally place Clanoventa at Ravenglass.

It is not altogether an unsuitable end for an Iter. Whether the trade between Ireland and Britain was ever so great as Chancellor Ferguson in a well-known passage assumed,[1] may be doubted, but doubtless there was a little intercourse, and some of it might have passed through Ravenglass harbour. The chief importance, however, of a post at Muncaster was perhaps military rather than commercial. It formed a section, and apparently the most southern section, of the coast-defence of west Cumberland, which, in turn, formed the flank of the line of Hadrian's Wall. Very possibly, though direct evidence is wanting,

[1] *Hist. of Cumberland*, 1890, p. 62. Compare my list of Roman remains found in Ireland in *English Hist. Review* 1913, pp. 1–12. It does not seem that Ireland traded much with any part of the Roman Empire.

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a road connected the fort at Muncaster with the Moresby fort, 18 miles north of it, and thus with Uxellodunum and the north.

I therefore advance the suggestion that the 'tenth Iter' started from Ravenglass and ran over Wrynose by the top of Windermere to Kendal. It is, I believe, a new suggestion, though General Sir John Woodford, whose manuscripts are quoted by Chancellor Ferguson,[1] seems to have anticipated some of it. I also believe that it is better than any previous theory, which is not saying much in its favour. The two principal rivals appear to be (1) Whitley Castle on the Maiden Way in the south Tyne valley near Alston, and (2) Old Carlisle. The former was suggested or adopted by Watkin, with an alteration in the numerals of the Itinerary; the main objection to it is that the Maiden Way does not stop at Whitley Castle, but passes on to Carvoran (Magna) on Hadrian's Wall and perhaps north of the Wall to Bewcastle: beyond this there is no further road. A section of the Itinerary might reasonably have started from Bewcastle, or from the Wall; it would hardly start from an intermediate station which was not either an end or a junction. Similarly, Old Carlisle, suggested by John Hodgson and accepted by Chancellor Ferguson, is merely a stage on the road from Maryport (Uxellodunum) to Carlisle; no certain roads meet here, and nothing begins here.

It has been also suggested that Clanoventa was at Maryport. To this view many objections might be urged; that actually Maryport bore the name Uxellodunum is perhaps the most obvious, but another objection deserves notice. Two channels cross the Lake Hills from east to west, a natural passage from Kendal by the top of Windermere and Wrynose down the Esk to Ravenglass, and a natural passage from Penrith by Keswick and the Derwent to Workington. As is well known, and as I have said above, the Romans used the former. It does not appear that they used the latter, though they held the lower Derwent by their fort at Papcastle (Aballaba). Despite assertions to the contrary, no Roman road or fort has been traced

[1] *Hist. of Cumberland*, p. 36. I know no more of these papers than this one reference.

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at or anywhere near Keswick. North Lakeland, the region of Thirlmere, Derwentwater, Buttermere and Bassenthwaite, and the wild slopes of Skiddaw and the Caldbeck Fells, were all left unoccupied by the Romans. I have been able, by excavation, to prove their temporary presence at Caermot, in the parish of Torpenhow, above the north end of Bassenthwaite, and no doubt other temporary sites will be discovered as excavation progresses. Of permanent forts and roads nothing has been proved, or seems likely to be proved, within the limits of Ambleside on the south, Papcastle on the west, Old Carlisle on the north, and Old Penrith (Plumpton Wall) and Brougham Castle on the east. It is therefore impossible to trace the 'tenth Iter' to Maryport, because to try to do so involves crossing a region where Roman roads are wholly awanting and which the Romans deliberately avoided.

NOTE.—Metrologists seem now to equate the normal Roman mile with 1480 or 1481 metres, that is, with 1618½ or 1619⅜ yards. Twelve English miles are, then, a trifle of 80 yards longer than thirteen Roman miles. Students of provincial roads, however, especially in upland regions, hardly need to trouble much about the difference between the English and the Roman mile for units of distance under fifteen or even twenty miles.

Occasionally, of course, one meets in the provinces mileage which, though styled 'millia passuum,' is slightly different. In Roman Africa, for example, on the road from Capsa to Tacape, the milestones found by the industrious French archaeologists are said to stand about 1600 metres (1750 yards) apart, but we have no reason to suppose any such plainly local variation in Britain.

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## PROCEEDINGS AT MONTHLY MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

### Wednesday, 3rd February, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth K.C.I.E. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A. President, in the Chair.

Mr. Aymer Vallance, M.A. F.S.A. read a paper on Reims, with many lantern illustrations.

In the discussion that followed there spoke Mr. P. M. Johnston and the Chairman.

Mr. Johnston said that the deplorable destruction of ancient buildings, not in Reims only but over a great part of western Europe, would some day present problems in restoration on an unparalleled scale.

With regard to two sculptures on the great north transept portal of the cathedral church, statues of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth, discussed by Mr. Vallance, he was inclined to regard them as original, and not as substitutions, although he admitted that they showed the inspiration of classical art.

The Chairman observed that, although no praise was too great for the sculpture, he could not help feeling that the façade of the church was over-decorated and had lost the simplicity of outline of an earlier date, such as in the churches of Saint-Denis and Amiens.

He was inclined to disagree with the view expressed by Mr. Johnston. In regard to the two exceptional figures, in his opinion the statues were so good that if they occurred in Italy they might almos be the work of Pisani, so characteristic was the drapery. Possibly the inspiration was not even Christian, and he hazarded the opinion that the St. Elizabeth at any rate might be a vestal copied after the discoveries in Rome by Sixtus V.

### Wednesday, 3rd March, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, President, in the Chair.

Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A. read a paper on the Sciapod and other abnormal human forms in English church architecture, with numerous lantern illustrations. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

In the discussion there spoke Sir William St. John Hope, Messrs. C. E. Keyser, P. M. Johnston, the Rev. H. F. Westlake, Miss Garbett and the Chairman.

Sir William St. John Hope referred to one of the manuscript illustrations thrown on the screen which showed a pair of shears in the hands of a woman, and said that this confirmed his view that on grave slabs, such as the one seen last year at Dale abbey, Derbyshire, shears were a feminine symbol.

Mr. Westlake pointed out that the confusion frequently found between

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text and illustrations in the mediaeval bestiaries was due to the fact that the scribe and the artist were usually different people.

Mr. Johnston thought that the 'savage man' of the Suffolk and Norfolk fonts probably represented the 'natural man' of Biblical symbolism, and expressed the hope that in course of time Mr. Druce's researches would be collected to form a book.

The Chairman suggested that a study of the geographical habitats ascribed to these strange monsters in the bestiaries would prove an interesting line of enquiry.

## Wednesday, 31st March, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Ian C. Hannah read a paper on some Irish religious houses, and exhibited a series of black and white sketches. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

In the discussion there spoke the Chairman and Sir William St. John Hope.

The latter observed that Irish religious houses were evidently very different from any to be found elsewhere; save for a few scattered articles, very little about them had appeared in print, and he hoped that Mr. Hannah would pursue his researches.

The detached chapels of Celtic monasteries were paralleled at Elmham. In the Gilbertine house at Watton there was a central partition-wall between the sections of the church devoted to men and women, quite similar to that described by Cogitosus as existing in St. Bride's church at Kildare. He was inclined to think that the huge development of transepts was for the benefit of lay congregations; it was, of course, paralleled at Chester.

The narrow tower arches and lay rood-lofts blocking up the space between chancel and nave of so many Irish friaries were a very curious feature. At Wymondham the parochial nave was divided from the monastic chancel by an even more complete barrier, a solid wall pierced by a door on each side of the altar.

The Chairman spoke of the debt which England owes to the church of Ireland in its earliest days, when it became the mother of the Northumbrian church and the inspirer of the art of Lindisfarne, and emphasised the great poverty of Ireland all through the middle ages.

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## NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

PREHISTORIC LONDON : ITS MOUNDS AND CIRCLES. By E. O. Gordon. 9×6, xii+212 pp. 22 plates. London : Elliot Stock. 1914. 10s. 6d. n.

In case it might be supposed from the title that this book endeavoured to deal with the question of prehistoric London, it may be well to say at once that it is merely a farrago of fancy built on the fables of the Romanticists and the quaint notions of Stukeley, interwoven with the inventions of modern Welsh national revivalists.

We are told a great deal about druids, Stonehenge, Glastonbury, Troy, Babylon, etc. but little reference is made to London, and for the most part any such allusions are inaccurate.

Certain hills and mounds in the neighbourhood of London are assumed, quite arbitrarily, to have formed a system of druidic places of worship. Keltic names are boldly invented for them, or if the existing name lends itself to a Keltic derivation it is promptly pressed into service regardless of how modern may be its origin. As an example Pentonville is glorified as the 'Pen-ton (Pen signifying in Keltic a hill rounded like a head).' Perhaps it may be consoling to Henry Penton, esquire, who died just over a century ago, that at this time he at least is not considered to have been a 'tête carrée.' Connected with this district an opportunity has been missed in failing to mention the celebrated mounds near Battle Bridge. There is no question as to these having been artificial, while their antiquity is as great or perhaps greater than that of the name of 'Penton.' They never seem to have been known by any other name than the ash or rubbish heaps, but as Parliament hill is renamed 'Llan-din' these mounds might have been similarly dignified.

Of course Gospel Oak is associated with the druids, as is also Maiden lane. There have been people irreverent enough to suggest that this is only a corruption of Midden lane from the aforesaid rubbish heaps.

Having settled the sacred antiquity of Pentonville hill the author claims the inherent probability of king Arthur's astronomer having established his observatory in the neighbourhood, evidence of which is provided by the public house known as 'Merlin's Cave.'

'An underground passage at the bottom of the hill led to the cave; the entrance to which, in the cellars of Merlin's Cave Tavern, has only recently been bricked up, the passage being considered no longer safe.' Whatever truth there may be as to a subterranean passage, there is no doubt that the present squalid public house derives its name from an attraction added in 1740 to the gardens of the 'New Wells,' which was an imitation of the grotto constructed in the royal gardens at Richmond by the order of the consort of George II in 1735.

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London Stone, we are told, is the 'index-stone' connected with an imaginary druidic circle supposed to have occupied the site of St. Paul's. In the first case it is admitted that no actual evidence of such a circle has been found, but the name College street is presumed to be the survival of this druidic seat of learning, from which we may suppose that 'Dick Whittington,' in founding a college here early in the fifteenth century, was led to do so because the street was already so named.

The number of assumed sacred mounts in the neighbourhood of London, we are told, forms unmistakable evidence of the large population and great importance of the capital in remote antiquity.

It is also claimed that the objects in our museums give support to this view. A great deal is made out of the marshes which are said originally to have surrounded the elevated ground on which the city stands, and from the marshes on the north the stream of the Walbrook is said to have had its source. 'The City Mile,' we are told, probably covers more buried history than any other mile in the world. Be this as it may, the evidence yielded by the soil of London has, in this book, been totally ignored or grossly distorted.

That any considerable settlement existed on the site, before Londinium was founded by the Romans, has been abundantly disproved by the great paucity of relics of earlier periods. Such objects as are shown in our museums come mostly from the outlying districts or from the bed of the Thames, remains of settlements of the bronze and early iron ages have been found higher up the river, but in London itself no evidence of any settlement earlier than the Roman period has yet come to light.

Sir Laurence Gomme's oft-repeated error as to Keltic pile-dwellings in the Fleet is naturally seized on to support the argument, while all the relics of the early and late stone, the bronze and early iron ages are subtly confused together as if they represented the traces of one race of people, the Kymry, whose principal business was druidism.

The examination of the soil of London has proved clearly that the marshes north of the city did not come into existence until long after Londinium had been founded. When the Romans enclosed their city, the Walbrook was flowing freely over a clean, gravelly surface. Culverts were constructed for carrying the stream through the wall, and it was not until later times that neglect of these passages caused the waters to accumulate on the north of the city wall. Had the elementary facts of the earlier history of London been known to the author, this book would never have appeared under its present title, and much that it contains would never have been written except, perhaps, as a romance. Stukeley, whose name is synonymous with all that is extravagant and fantastic in archaeology, was sufficiently candid to warn his readers that his writings were not a mere relation of history, but a means for the improvement of the morals of mankind. The writer of *Prehistoric London* gives no such warning, but may have been animated with a similar idea.

The book in fact may be excellent morality, but with this we are not concerned; to look to it for reliable information on the prehistory of London will be labour in vain.

F. W. R.

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# SOME IRISH RELIGIOUS HOUSES.[1]

By IAN C. HANNAH, M.A.

The Christianity of Ireland was largely monastic from its very earliest years. This is extremely clear from a study of primitive conditions in the Island of the Saints itself, still more so from a consideration of the Celtic missions in Scotland, in England, on the continent of Europe and elsewhere.

Monastic in constitution, at least to a great extent, were the once world-famous schools of Ireland, such as Bangor on the sea, Armagh inland among the low hills of Ulster, Glendalough amid the wooded valleys of the Wicklow mountains, and, greatest of all, in the centre of the island, Clonmacnoise, with its two round towers and numerous churches rising on an 'esker'[2] by the marshes of the Shannon (fig. 1).[3]

The arrangements of a Celtic monastery were of the very simplest kind. A bank of earth or stones shut the community in from the world or fortified it against outside attack; or perhaps this was still more effectively accomplished by the remoteness of the situation. The buildings were detached, the bee-hive huts in which the monks lived, the small rectangular stone churches in which they prayed; perhaps a round tower rose high above them all.[4]

The numerous little oratories of stone (occasionally the traditional seven in number, but far more often less or more), some of them with massive Cyclopean masonry and 'antae' recalling the Levant, here and there with double

[1] Read before the Institute, 31st March, 1915.

[2] One of the gravel ridges which here cross the country.

[3] All the drawings which illustrate this paper are by Edith Brand Hannah. The photographs were taken by the author excepting where acknowledgment is made to another source.

[4] From Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (ch. xv) we learn that as early as the sixth century there was at Durrow a lofty 'monasterium rotundum,' which formed the 'great house' of the convent, and it is tempting to find in it at least the embryo of the round tower. St. Benedict at Monte Cassino used to sleep in the topmost chamber of a tall tower overlooking all the buildings and courtyards of the monastery. His guest Servandus once occupied a lower story of the same tower, and the disciples of both slept below.

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FIG. I. CLONMACNOISE: CROSS, O'ROURKE'S TOWER AND TEAMPULL DOOLIN.

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roofs of stone and chambers for the priests between, the tall wheel-crosses with their striking carved reliefs, above all the battering round towers with their conical caps of smooth wrought stone, are peculiar features which combine to give to an Irish holy place an atmosphere absolutely unique. One of the most interesting of these ancient oratories is the church of SS. Colman and Cronan at Tomgraney, co. Clare (plate IV, no. 1). The original part is 36 feet long by 21 feet 6 inches wide. The west door has the usual sloping jambs, being 3 ft. 5 ins. wide at the base and 3 ft. 2 ins. wide at the top: its height is 6 ft. 5 ins, and the lintel is 7 ft. 4 ins. long. It is still in use, and its building is recorded in the 'Chronicum Scotorum' of A.D. 964.[1] A. C. Champneys[2] says this is 'the oldest existing church, so far as I can discover, to which a date can be assigned with something like certainty,' but the cathedral church at Clonmacnoise seems to be an exception as it is dated by a similar reference in the 'Four Masters' forty years earlier.

Although, as in the East, there were married secular clergy (St. Patrick's own grandfather was in holy orders), there appears in the ancient Celtic church to have been little distinction between monastic and other houses of prayer. None of the older words for a church make any difference between a building served by secular and one served by regular clergy[3]; organisation was ever the

[1] 'Cormac Ua Cillin of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, comarb of Ciaran and Coman and comarb of Tuaim-greine, by whom the great church of Tuaim-greine and its cloigtech (i.e. round tower) were constructed, a wise man and old and a bishop, fell asleep in Christ.'

[2] *Irish Ecclesiastic Architecture*, 1910, p. 37.

[3] *Ceall* (*kil*), originally a hermit's cell, is usually applied to a church connected with a saint; *teampull*, commonly used for an ordinary place of public worship, a parish church of later days; *eaglais*, usually applied to the body of church members, but occasionally employed for the building; *daimliag*, unlike the others, is a purely Irish word, and signifies a house of stone, generally employed to denote a large and important church. In days when Celtic tradition was gradually giving way before continental influences a new word, *regles* (*regularis ecclesia*), was coined to denote a purely monastic church. In the following passage from the chronicle of the 'Four Masters' the distinction is very clear. '1179: Armagh was burned, as well churches as regleses, excepting only Regles Brighde and Teampull na bh-Fearta.'

This superb chronicle was compiled as late as 1632–1636 and was chiefly due to the learned Franciscan, Michael O'Clery of Louvain, born in Donegal, c. 1580. His helpers were all members of the same order, the other three masters being Farfassa O'Mulchoury, Perigrine O'Clery and Peregrine O'Duigenan. An accurate and painstaking chronicle, compiled from the best original authorities, it is not in the same class as the sagas of Iceland for human interest, though far more replete with facts. Its impartiality in particular is beyond all praise. Though living in an age of fierce and bitter controversy, the masters conscientiously transcribed such passages as the following, which they must have known (whatever be the precise signification) would be seized upon by their religious opponents: '1129: Ceallach, successor of Patrick, a son

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weakest point of the Celts; this particularly applies to their church, but although there was no attempt to give the different church-buildings the sort of classification and status upon which Rome has always insisted, in a sense they were all monastic.

The service rendered to mankind by the schools of these monasteries has never even yet been adequately told. Here, almost alone in the whole of western Europe, was learning kept alive through the dark ages between the fall of Rome and the days of Charles the Great. While many Christian students were sitting at the feet of the early Moslem scholars, others were getting a not inferior education at the hands of devoted monks in Ireland.[1]

The atmosphere of the eastern church is strongly recalled by the only detailed description we possess of an ancient Irish church in use, that of the convent of Kildare, contained in the *Life of St. Bridget* by Cogitosus, a work of the ninth century. This is the building

in which repose the bodies of bishop Conlaeth and the holy virgin St. Bridget, on the right and left of the decorated altar, deposited in monuments adorned with various embellishments of gold and silver and gems and precious stones, with crowns of gold and silver depending from above. For the number of the faithful of both sexes increasing, the church was built covering a spacious area, and elevated to a menacing height, and adorned with painted pictures, having within three oratories large and separated by partitions of planks under one roof of the greater house, wherein one partition[2] [evidently corresponding to an eikonostasis], decorated and painted with figures, and covered with linen hangings, extended along the breadth in the eastern part of the church, from the southern to the northern wall, which screen has at its ends two doors. Through that on the right the summus pontifex with his chapter (regulari schola) enters the sanctuary to the altar. Through that on the left only the abbess with her faithful girls and widows goes to receive the sacrament. Another wall from the west wall to the

of purity, and archbishop of the west of Europe, the only head whom the foreigners and Irish of Ireland, both laity and clergy, obeyed.'

The standard edition of this work is *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to* 1616, edited and translated by John O'Donovan, published in Dublin by Hodges and Smith in 1851. The critical notes are of great value. The Erse and English texts are printed on opposite pages.

The ancient chronicles of Ireland are largely accessible in English, and they are of the very utmost value to the student of architecture. It does not seem that they have been by any means exhaustively gone through. I have myself sometimes found passages which appeared to give the exact dates of existing buildings which I have never seen printed in accounts of the structures themselves.

[1] There is an interesting article on the *Irish Monks and the Norsemen*, by Sir Henry H. Howorth, in *Proc. Royal Historical Society*, vol. viii, 1880.

[2] Cormac's *Glossary* defines *caincell* (chancel) as a latticed partition forming a division between laity and clergy after the similitude of the veil of Solomon's temple.

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screen divides the floor into two equal parts. The church has many windows, and on the south an ornate door for males, another on the north for women. Thus in a very great basilica a multitude divided by walls in different order and ranks and sex but one in mind adores Almighty God.

The appearance and arrangements of this building must have closely resembled a Coptic church at the present day; and we may rest assured that if we could see the ancient churches of Ireland, cleared of the ivy and elder and hawthorn that so frequently block up their interiors, and restored to the condition in which their builders left them, we should be reminded rather of the small shrines

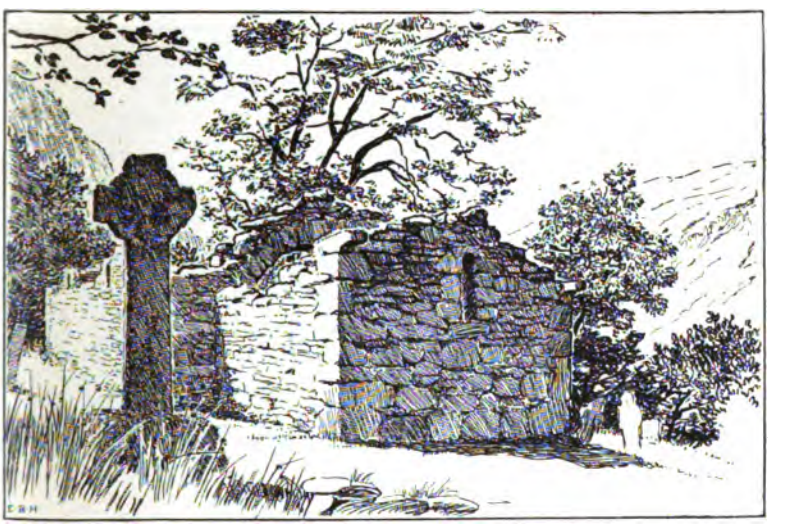

FIG. 2. REEFERT CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

of Athens and some of the other eastern European towns than of anything we know in the West. A very interesting and characteristic example, that of Reefert (fig. 2), looks down through trees on to the upper lake at Glendalough.

The native style of Irish architecture culminated in Cormac's chapel on the rock of Cashel, whose consecration by a synod of clergy the 'Four Masters' record under the year 1134. It is one of the most interesting and distinctive buildings in the whole of Europe, with its little transept towers, its gorgeous arcading, its radiant Romanesque detail, its sumptuous portals, its lofty chambers between the tunnel-vaults of nave and chancel and the steep

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FIG. 3. CORMAC'S CHAPEL ON THE ROCK OF CASHEL.

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soaring outer roofs of stone, its mysterious heating flues[1] and its strange shallow square sanctuary projection that takes the place of an apse.[2] It is the climax of the ancient Irish style, the most beautiful of all the examples we possess, though in detail strongly influenced by foreign art (fig. 3). It was perhaps surpassed in grandeur by the great church of Tuam raised by O'Hoisin, abbot from 1128 till 1150, when he was called to sit in the archbishop's chair. But of that no more remains than the triumphal arch, the rude tunnel-vault of the quire and the three east windows.[3]

It would, however, be very rash to pronounce either these buildings or any others to be the last of the old true Irish work. For many years to come humble churches still rose in the ancient style, but no new features are displayed.[4] Undoubtedly inspired by Anglo-Norman

[1] For this purpose Petrie, Brash, Miss Stokes, Champneys, and other writers, have supposed the channels in the stone-work to be intended. The last discusses the subject at length in one of his appendices (pp. 229–230). I have myself felt grave doubt as to whether the flues could have been made to work, and Mr. Arthur Hill, of Cork, writes to me :— 'A row of beams was placed over the vaulting like floor-joists: a longitudinal piece was spiked to the ends to take the thrust of the vaulting while green. All these timbers have long since decayed away leaving only the holes.' I am rather inclined to agree with this opinion, strengthened as it is by that of Mr. P. M. Johnston, but the matter is by no means free from doubt, and the arrangements for heating the dorter and other rooms in the Irish monastery at Saint-Gall in Switzerland are a strong argument on the other side. They are detailed in a plan of the ninth century attributed to Einhard by Mabillon, who discovered the document in the monastic library during the seventeenth century: see James Ferguson, *History of Architecture* (1865) bk. IV, ch. II (i, 562–565).

[2] The complete unwillingness of the ancient Irish to build apses is extremely interesting from the universal use of such features in early Christian churches elsewhere. The basilica erected by Constantine (or St. Helen) over the grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the oldest large church we know, has round apses ending both transepts and quire. However, the little rock-cut chapel in the Ostrianum Catacomb at Rome has a square east end, and it may confidently be stated that no Christian place of worship can be proved to be earlier. The ancient churches of Ireland in fact represent the very earliest Christian architecture that we know, before the conversion of Constantine caused the erection of great basilicas for the worship of the new faith. They are in some ways, at any rate, the most remarkable collection of really primitive churches in the world. The subject is dealt with at some length with references to Freeman and others in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture.*

[3] How it is that we possess no more we are not left in doubt. The 'Four Masters' record that the Connacians burned Tuam and other churches to prevent the English quartering in them during 1177; the *Annals of Kilronan* remark the falling of the great church of Tuam, both roof and stonework, in 1184. West of the quire and incorporating it has been raised a new cathedral from the designs of Sir Thomas Deane; one looks through the plate glass of the east windows into the large chapel (now the chapter-house and library) that was added in the fourteenth century (p. 128).

[4] Just as in England many churches with Saxon features were built after 1066. Mr. Hamilton Thompson, in *Memorials of Old Lincolnshire*, 1911, pp. 79, 80, has shown that this was so in the case of the tower at Branston in that county. I think I have done the same in my *Heart of East Anglia*, 1914, for the Saxon churches of Norwich.

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forms, though Irish in the main, are the details of the lovely little Relig-na-Cailleach, or Church of the Nuns (built in 1167, as the 'Four Masters' relate), with its ornate west door displaying eagles' beaks and grotesque heads and chancel arch of varied chevron, resting on eight shafts.

No real historic continuity is to be remarked in passing from the very humble ancient churches of Ireland to the far more ambitious fanes that rose on her soil in later days, beginning with the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont. The essential features of Irish work suddenly disappear; we find buildings far larger and of quite different type, modelled on those of England. The architectural tradition was broken more completely than when in England herself Saxon structures were ousted by Norman ones. Left to themselves the Irish would have developed their architecture on totally different lines, and the world is unquestionably poorer that they did not have the chance. There is little doubt that they would have succeeded in working out something more interesting and more beautiful than the architecture which was eventually evolved on Irish soil from the forms that the English brought.

In the living stone itself we seem to read the contempt that the builders of the new felt for the builders of the old. Mediaeval craftsmen generally had little respect for the work of those that went before, but as a rule they showed no contempt. The Anglo-Normans in Ireland did. Numerous small Celtic chapels, deemed unsuited to a grander ritual, were ruthlessly torn down that much larger, though far less interesting, churches might be raised on their common site. Thus at Kilkenny and Armagh one great bishop's church has supplanted a cluster of oratories; elsewhere, as at Killaloe, a little and more venerable chapel[1] still stands in the cathedral yard. On the rock of Cashel the fine old chapel of Cormac is cramped and deprived of its sky-line by the not very skilful—one might almost be tempted to call it the exceedingly clumsy—jamming against it of the quire and south transept of the thirteenth-century cathedral church, which, in further contempt of the past, utilises the aged round tower as

[1] It seems likely that the older building may be that erected by the famous Brian Boru in 1010, as recorded by the 'Four Masters.' If not, it is certainly later, though a much higher antiquity has been claimed for it.

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the north-east turret of the other transept. It is a very noble church indeed, with all the glories that the thirteenth century so well produced, with tall lancets and clustered banded shafts and mouldings deeply cut, but the great central tower and the western one (which in strange defiance of all traditions formed a fortified house for the archbishop) are so slightly parted by the puny nave that they group very badly with each other, and still worse with the three elder steeples.

As in England, however, the builders of later ages seemed reluctant to tear down Norman doors, so in Ireland, as a rule, a vague respect protected the round towers,

FIG. 4. ROMANESQUE CAPITAL, ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH.

so unlike anything known elsewhere.[1] Usually, as at Kildare, Kilkenny, Cloyne, and Kells, later churches were decorously built a few yards away.

While there is certainly a break of historic continuity in the sense that the new and much larger structures in

[1] No doubt round towers, detached towers, battering towers, conically capped towers, towers with both military and ecclesiastical uses, may be found elsewhere than in Ireland, but, in their combination of all these features and in their wide distribution through the land, the famed round towers of Ireland are truly and entirely unique.

Champneys seems to me to go too far in questioning the exclusively Irish character of Ireland's own round towers: see his chapter iv.

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the pointed style did not grow out of the little Romanesque churches, but were introduced from overseas, yet a good many features of considerable importance were carried over from the old native style to the newer forms, whose incongruity to the soil was softened by the influence of Irish ideas and beautified by Irish details. Carved features continued very largely to consist of the coils and intersecting bands so characteristic of Celtic work, though even these were not indigenous to Ireland, as Dr. Hyde has pointed out.[1] These beautiful patterns are sometimes produced rather ingeniously by intertwining human hair among the legs and tails of beasts, or by some such strange device.[2] Another interesting survival of old national ideas is the fact that apses, which are extremely unusual between Norman and Tudor times in England, are in Ireland almost entirely unknown.[3]

Again the Irish builders vindicated their independence in all sorts of unexpected ways. For instance their turret-stairs are almost invariably without the usual central newel-shaft,[4] consisting either of rough rubble corkscrew vaults or of corbelled steps surrounding a narrow little central well. Stability depended very much on the good quality of the mortar employed. Excellence of cement has always characterised the structures raised on Irish soil: at Mellifont abbey a wall fell years ago on to the corner of the warming-house and it still remains, over-

[1] M. Salomon Reinach, J. Romilly Allen and others, have shown that these coils are never found in ancient Celtic works of the continent, nor in the pre-Christian antiquities of Ireland, such as the stones of New Grange; they came with so much else into Ireland from the east of Europe. Their origin is to be discovered in the architecture of Byzantium. See Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 454. If this work were better known to English readers (and to the Irish themselves) many problems would disappear.

[2] An excellent example of this is in the sculptures of the chancel arch belonging to the monastic church of St. Saviour, a beautiful ruin of late twelfth-century date that stands half a mile below the round towers of Glendalough. The capital here drawn crowns a shaft, one of three on the southern side (fig. 4).

[3] One of the very few exceptions is Christ Church cathedral at Dublin, whose remarkably rude rubble crypt seems to be the original work of the Danish king, Sigtryg Silkbeard, by whom the church was founded in 1038. The apse is an astonishingly clumsy piece of building, having three unequal sides. A longer square-ended quire had been substituted in the church above during the fourteenth century, but in restoring the cathedral soon after the disestablishment, Street took the most unwise liberty of destroying this to rebuild the original apse from the evidence of the crypt below, but he made it quite regular with the eastern wall, wide enough to be pierced by two lancets, the narrower side ones having but one each. The effect is by no means satisfactory.

[4] This is the more remarkable as Cormac's chapel has a regular newel-stair in the south tower to approach the priest's chambers, p. 93.

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grown by plants, forming a bridge across a space several feet wide; we learn, too, from Harris' *History of the County of Down* that when the round tower at Maghera fell over, it lay like a great cannon on the ground.

In later years Irish architecture swerved away very considerably from English, and went far towards the evolution of a national style. This is apparent to some extent in buildings for all purposes, but it is especially striking in religious houses, particularly friaries. Not only in architecture, but also in organisation, Irish monasteries after the Conquest present many features of great interest, entirely different from anything to be found elsewhere. Although many of these are owing inevitably to Celtic traditions, there are others entirely unconnected with them.

The last of the old[1] and the beginning of the new are closely connected in time. While an exile from his kingdom, a pilgrim at Lismore, Cormac MacCarthy made the acquaintance of St. Malachy of Bangor, the friend of the renowned St. Bernard of Clairvaux, by whom his life was written. Lord Dunraven suggests with fair probability that to this connexion may be due some of the Romanesque detail of the chapel of Cormac at Cashel. Mellifont abbey, founded in 1142 by Donough O'Carroll, lord of Oirgialla, under the influence of the same Malachy, the de-Celticising primate, has nothing Irish about it, but follows exactly the same lines as the Cistercian houses in England that were rising at the same time.

The Great Monastery, as it is frequently called in the annals, stands beside the stream of Mattock, not far from its junction with the Boyne. It is a fair spot, exactly such a lonely wooded dale as the Cistercians liked to find, connected with the outer world only by one rough track leading to the higher lands above. It was founded in 1142, while the first Anglo-Norman invasion was in 1168, facts that are important as showing that the task of bringing the old Celtic church into line with the custom of the

[1] The ancient architecture of Ireland has been fairly fully described in the well-known works of Brash, Petrie, Lord Dunraven and Champneys. Fergusson has some interesting observations, but he never could take much interest in buildings whose size seemed to him insufficient for proper architectural display.

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rest of western Christendom had proceeded far before the English came.

Across the valley stand the low ruins of the church; it could never have been extended to the east without burrowing into the hillside, nor to the west without embanking the river. It seems undoubtedly to have been the original structure consecrated in 1157; the quire is very short, the transept has aisles and extends three bays to the north, but southward only two, with a sort of passage beyond, probably connected with the night stair. We know from excavations seen by Sir Thomas Deane that four of the chapels were apsidal. It is clear that during the fifteenth century the central tower was rebuilt with semi-octagonal responds plastered against the earlier shafts; at the same time a substantial stone screen was built across the western arch, suggesting that the whole nave was assigned to the 'conversi,' if they survived to so late a date, as is most unlikely.

The most perfect part of the ruins is the very beautiful fourteenth-century chapter-house, which has a vault in two bays resting on far-projecting shafts, dog-tooth mouldings and two-light 'decorated' windows. The floor is laid with ancient tiles, incised with leaves and fleurs-de-lis. A few pieces of thin brick are used in the rubble walling, the only ones which either Petrie or the present writer ever remembers to have seen in the mediaeval buildings of Ireland.

The arrangements appear to have been quite normal, except perhaps for the very striking octagonal lavatory, which opens from the south walk of the arcaded cloister and stands in the ample garth that was much wider north to south than east to west. The lavatory is open on every side by a shafted round arch, and the birds and leaves that beautify the caps sometimes remind one of Byzantine detail. The outside corners have strange fluting, and above the vaulted roof is a much broken upper room with windows of single lights. Only very slightly does this fair and rather mysterious octagon resemble the fountain with its queer bas-reliefs and double shafts which stands in the centre of the 'paradise' of the Cluniac priory of Much Wenlock in Shropshire.

There is but little definitely Irish character about this wealthy and rather aristocratic house, save that the warm-

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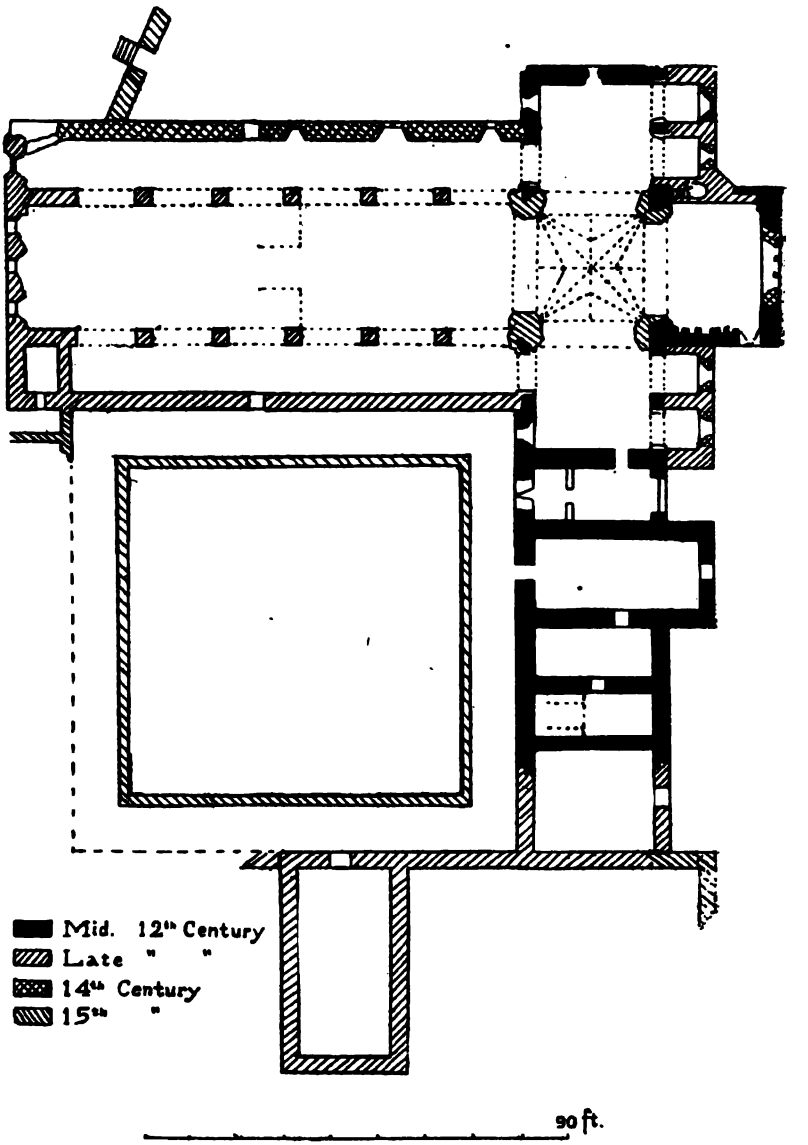


FIG. 5. SKETCH-PLAN OF JERPOINT ABBEY.

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ing room is covered by a very rude barrel-vault of the old Celtic form, roughly turned with unshaped rubble stones, then grouted with liquid cement to form a concrete mass, stability depending upon the goodness of the mortar used. The place was in fact very thoroughly appropriated by the conquering race: statutes passed at Kilkenny in 1310 and 1322 ordered that none should be professed within the walls who could not swear that he was of true-born English blood. A little later, however, at a general chapter of the Cistercian order such legislation was branded (not inaccurately) as damnable.

Another Cistercian abbey (fig. 5) whose ruins are of singular beauty and high interest is Jerpoint, on the rolling grass-lands by the river Nore, midway between Waterford and Kilkenny. It is but little newer than Mellifont, for it must have been founded between 1148 and 1165[1]; but Irish influence among its builders was evidently strong, for, though it follows generally the usual plan of the Cistercians, the small transept windows have sloping jambs, being wider at bottom than at top, while the little square presbytery and sundry chambers on the east side of the cloister are covered with rude old Celtic vaults. That of the chapter-house starts practically from the ground on either side, and in no house of the whole order can the debates of the monks have been held in a room more suggestive of solemn gloom, nor more in accordance with the primitive simplicity that St. Bernard would desire.

Rather later in the twelfth century were added two chapels east of either transept, opening by pointed arches, covered by pointed barrel-vaults, the capitals here as in the nave being carved largely in the Celtic way. The nave and aisles are hardly later, if indeed at all, than the transept chapels. On thick pillars, round, or bevelled square, or furnished with corner-shafts, rest pointed arches (fig. 6), and through the clerestory walls above the pillars are pierced round-headed lights, while others look through the doorless western wall down a slope to a little stream. Before 1200

[1] The evidence for this is well given by Champneys (loc. cit. pp. 232-234). Richard Langrishe, in a paper read to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland on 30th May, 1905, argues from the architectural evidence that the quire and transepts must date from about 1125, but it seems to me most unlikely that so un-Irish a plan should have been made use of at so early a period. Help from his plan of the church is gratefully acknowledged.

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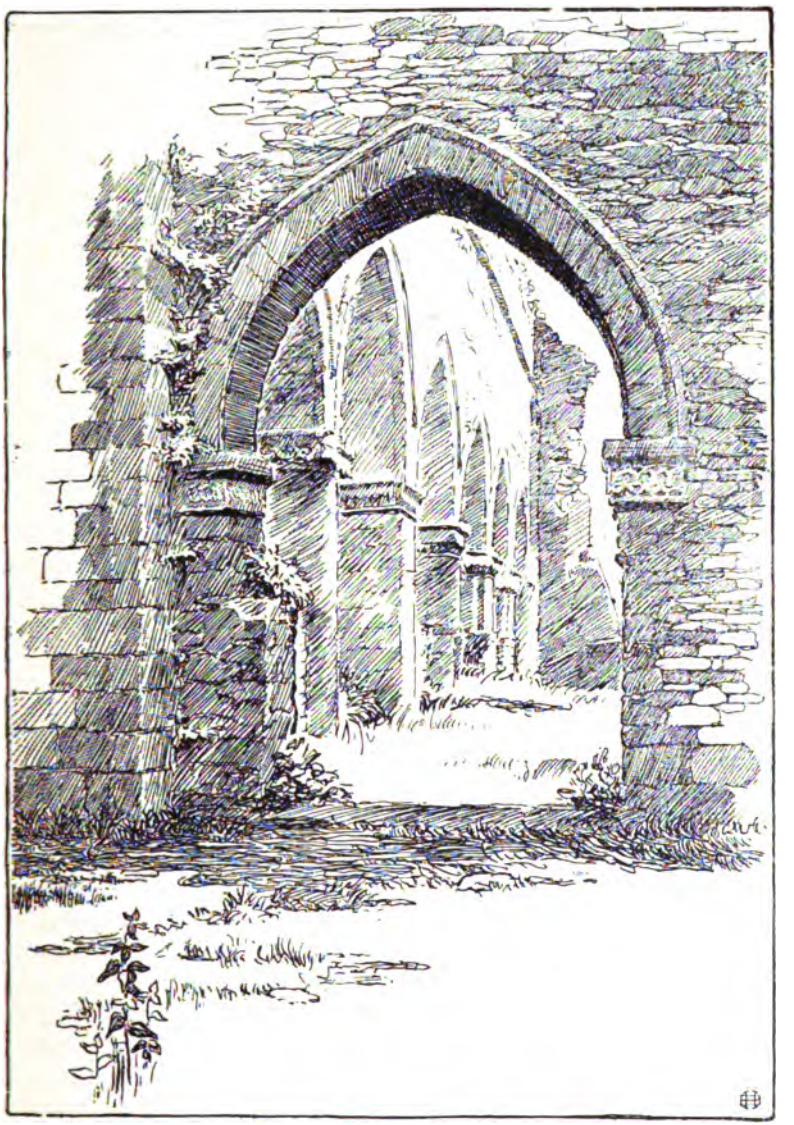

FIG 6. JERPOINT ABBEY: NORTH AISLE OF NAVE FROM TRANSEPT.

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was raised the long dorter (with night-stair) over the Celtic tunnels of the eastern range, and southwards of the 'paradise,' at right-angles to the church, was built the frater, of which one lancet still survives. The fourteenth century saw traceried windows, the central one with ball-flower and a wheel, pierced through the east walls of quire and transept chapels, and the north nave wall was heightened or rebuilt. Over its door projects a corbel-lintelled, machicolated bartisan,[1] and toward the west, not quite at right-angles, is a flanking wall to guard the main approach. In the extreme corner of the house, south-eastward of the cloister square, rises a small fortified tower.

Within the nave may still be seen, in the third bay from the west, the ruins of the stone screen pierced by a doorway in the centre, a deep altared chapel on either hand. Something of this nature was a very usual arrangement in large churches of every kind. Thus, as at Jervaulx and elsewhere, the quire of the 'conversi' was separated from the monks' quire by a stone pulpitum having a raised altar on each side. In front of the pulpitum, a bay westward, was the rood-screen, with an altar in the middle and a doorway on either side. This was presumably of wood, which seems to have been the usual arrangement. A thick low wall connected the pillars at the sides of the quire of the 'conversi.' A row of modern cottages has usurped the site of their dwellings along the west cloister walk.

During the fifteenth century the half-foreign character of this house was largely changed by the erection of a new tower and cloister of peculiarly Hibernian type. The broad 'paradise' was enclosed by small open round arches springing from bell-capped double shafts, rude work sometimes with animals or men between (one dragon has considerable spirit), but nothing of this arcade remains save what of recent years has been raised from the fragments lying round. The middle tower still lifts up, clearly defined in grey against the sky, the noblest example that exists of Irish step-battlemented parapets with square pinnacled turrets at the corners (fig. 7). The exceedingly satisfactory lines of these Irish battlements, recalling work at Florence and elsewhere

[1] Sir Walter Scott appears to have coined this word owing to a misconception, but it is too convenient to be given up.

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in Italy, form a most pleasing variety from the sometimes rather monotonous parapets that crown contemporary towers in Great Britain. Beneath the tower is the only ribbed vaulting that the building ever knew (transepts, nave and aisles were roofed with wood); some of the corbels from which the arches spring have never had their mouldings cut but still remain in block. The stairway to the top gives access to chambers above the roofs of chapels and quire.[1]

FIG. 7. TOWER OF JERPOINT ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

In 1272 archbishop David McCurville of Cashel, who is said to have dreamed that the Benedictine monks were trying to cut off his head, removed them without much ceremony from the far-famed rock. Secular canons were installed in the cathedral. But on the damp flats below

[1] Rather mysterious and unaccountable alterations are not infrequent in Irish houses, and here, not long before the dissolution, the southern arcade was blocked up and the aisle thrown into the north walk of the cloister. A long alley-chamber was evidently required for some purpose or other.

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the primate of Munster raised another house where the Cistercian rule should be obeyed, the abbey of St. Mary of the rock of Cashel, more shortly Hore, as it is usually known to-day (fig. 8). It is a structure of Cistercian simplicity; the cruciform church has the usual pair of chapels eastward of each arm of the transept. The cloister was on the northern side; almost the only part that has survived is the rectangular chapter-house with enriched banded shafts to frame the lancets turned towards the rising sun. Apparently about the middle of the fifteenth century

FIG. 8. HORE ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

there was raised a new middle tower, its vault most ornately ribbed but unbossed. It can hardly have been much later that, apparently in the interests of defence, great alterations were made to the whole house; the work gives the impression of having been much more remarkable for the haste than for the neatness with which it was carried out. The large lancets of church and chapter-house were built up, except for small openings of 'perpendicular' character left to admit some light; the transepts and all but the two east bays of the nave without their aisles were walled off from the quire, the west end of the nave was divided into three stories, the chapter-house into two, all being re-windowed on a somewhat grudging scale. A wall that seems never to have been finished half fills the west tower arch, as if it had been

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decided still further to cut short the poor remnant of the church.

The great parent Benedictine order was but slightly represented in Ireland, for by the time continental influences were seriously making themselves felt there the day of the offshoots had come. Its noblest Irish convent stood on high land just west of the city of Downpatrick, overlooking the muddy estuary of the Quoile and the ancient rath or dun that gives the town its name. Here, according to 'tradition,' rest Ireland's holiest saints, buried in one tomb, Patrick, Bridget, and Columba of Scottish fame.[1] Their effigies stand in three niches under the eastern gable of the cathedral. The whole had gone to ruin when at last, in 1790, the quire of the venerable fabric was restored

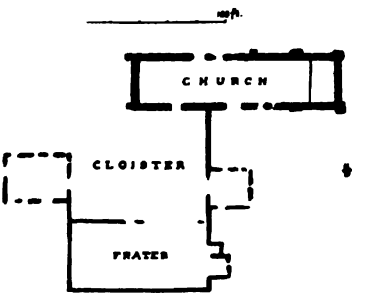


FIG. 9. SKETCH-PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL PRIORY, NEWTOWN TRIM.

to become the mother church of the diocese once more. It consists simply of nave and aisles of five bays; block piers support moulded arches and the capitals of the single jamb-shafts are superbly carved with animals and leaves, the date apparently about 1400. Even with the plaster vaulting and other bastard Gothic details of the end of the eighteenth century, the interior is one of the most impressive

[1] Unhappily Cogitosus (p. 92) says that Bridget was buried at Kildare; St. Bernard says St. Patrick was entombed at Armagh; the grave of St. Columba is still shown at Iona. The discovery of the triple grave at Down in 1185 is described by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia Hibernica*, iii, c. xviii; opera, v, p. 163). The *Office for the Translation of the Relics* (first printed at Paris in 1620), abstracted by Dr. Lanigan (*Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, iv, 274 f.), describes how St. Malachy, bishop of Down, while praying in the cathedral, saw a light like a sunbeam which moved to the spot where the bodies were. The tale seems to have been worked by Sir John de Courcy and the English to enhance the dignity of the place that had recently fallen into their hands.

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of all Irish churches. From old prints it is clear that the walls of aisles and clerestory are original, but the ruins of nave and cloister have absolutely vanished, and the ground-plan seems to depend almost entirely on guess-work.[1]

Most Irish cathedral churches were always served by secular canons, but another monastic one stands in ruin on the banks of the Boyne at Newtown Trim, and it is interesting from the unusual arrangement of the cloister, which, instead of joining in the normal style, is pushed away to the west, so that its north-east corner is about the middle of the church's southern wall, while its north-west angle is far beyond the west façade (fig. 9).[2] The church was founded in 1206 by an English bishop of Meath, Simon Rochfort, who moved the throne hither from Clonard. It is a fair structure in the fashion of that time, having tall lancets framed by richly-banded shafts, ribbed vault growing out of the moulded capitals of wall-shafts. The plan is aisleless and long, slight modifications having been made as the builders slowly worked from east to west. It was served by Augustinian canons of the congregation of St. Victor[3]; in 1397 an effort was made to substitute a secular dean and chapter, but this was successfully resisted by the regulars.[4] The cloister stood on meadow-land rapidly sloping to the river's edge. The frater seems to be contemporary with the church, and under it was a chamber with round arched windows, looking on to the Boyne. The chimney is ingeniously enclosed in a pilaster buttress, but it is broken into by a clumsily inserted fifteenth-century window. On the west side of the cloister are somewhat scanty ruins of a three-storied building with a corkscrew stair.

In the town of Trim hard by was another Augustinian house of the institution of Arrouaise, dedicated in honour of St. Mary. Its sole remains, a detached tower rising 120 feet, was battered half down by Cromwell's guns (if local

[1] The plan is given by J. J. Phillips in *Proc. R. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 1905, 308.

[2] At the Premonstratensian house of Egglestone in Yorkshire the short nave did not extend so far west as the cloister, but there the church is cruciform, and the transept consequently prevented the cloister extending any further toward the east.

[3] So also between 1163 and 1541 was Christ Church, Dublin. Its conventual buildings, south of the nave, seem to have been normal.

[4] *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 74, 75.

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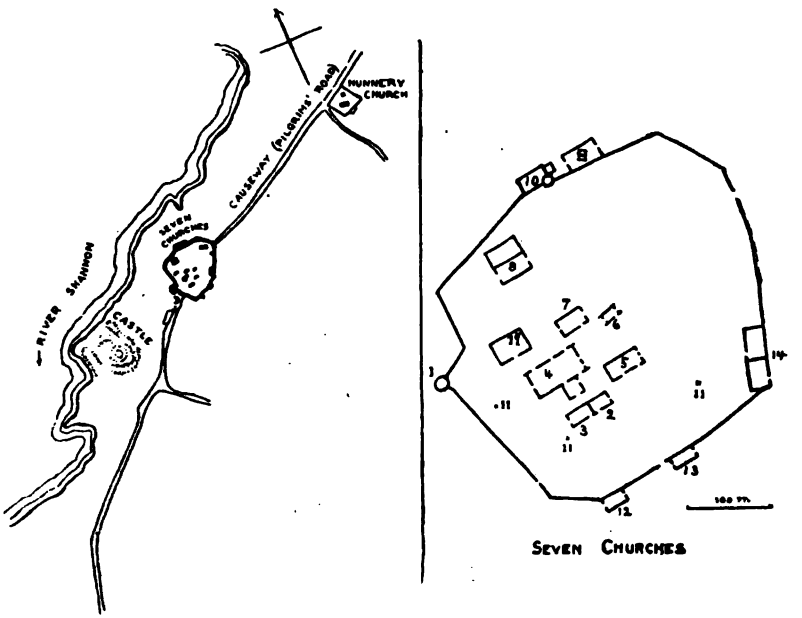
tradition be true); it is widely seen over the woods of Meath and known as the Yellow Steeple.

At Rathkeale, co. Limerick, are ruins of another house of the same order, whose little thirteenth-century church is remarkable for a four-light east window with simply intersecting mullions, a rather early example of what in Ireland (as elsewhere) became extremely usual in later work.




1 O'Rorke's Tower
2 Temple Hurpan
3 " Doolin
4 Cathedral
5 Temple Ri
6 " Kieran
7 " Kelly
8 " Conor
9 Temple Killen
10 " Finghin
11 Crosses
12 Temple Gavny
13 Bishop's Chapel
14 Houses

FIG. 10. PLAN OF CLONMACNOISE.

A largish arch appears to have opened from church to cloister both here and at Bective (p. 129); it was possibly closed by some sort of woodwork in winter.

Strange things must have struck the mediaeval pilgrim who, having tasted the hospitality of the chief monasteries of western Europe, turned aside into the byways of Ireland. At several great houses he could hardly fail to be impressed

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by the very close geographical proximity of secular and regular priests, and also by the survival of the very crude arrangements of the Celtic church. Thus at Clonmacnoise (p. 89) he might visit a world-famed Augustinian house so very rich that almost the half of Ireland was said to be within its bounds, so very holy that all who were at rest within its yard were sure of a speedy flight to Heaven, which yet had not even a cloister, while the largest of the scattered churches in the very midst was in the hands of a secular chapter (fig. 10). The detached and chaotic nature of their own dwellings, and the great number of the little chapels that they served, must have made the lives of the Austin canons of Clonmacnoise very different indeed from that of their fellows in any other European land.

At Glendalough, so very famous in earliest days, it does not seem that there was ever much prosperity in post-conquest times, though the line of abbots lasted till the whole place was granted by king John to the archbishops of Dublin in 1214. The statement of Archdall that the city then "not only suffered by decay, but insensibly became a receptacle for outlaws and robbers" seems difficult to understand in view of the number of well-preserved buildings that survive to this very hour.[1]

At Kildare still stands a tall round tower and traces of the separate buildings so characteristic of all Celtic settlements. In one of these, traditionally at least, was maintained that sacred fire whose origin is probably to be sought in the conversion of some venerable community corresponding to the vestal virgins at Rome. In 1220, just before the building of the existing cathedral church (p. 128), an unimaginative Englishman, Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin, had the fire put out as a relic of heathendom, but before long it was rekindled by the successor of St. Bridget, and it did not die again till the reformation was sweeping the land. An abbess was in charge of the holy fire; for many centuries an abbot also presided over a community of monks as part of the same establishment, but even in this time-honoured seat of

[1] Stevens' (Alemand's) *Monasticon Hibernicum* says the cathedral was served by regular canons, but does not give any authority. I have found fifteenth-century records of secular ones in the *Cal. Papal Letters*.

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[*W. Temperley, phot.*

NO. I. MOUNT GRACE PRIORY CHURCH, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

NO. 2. FRANCISCAN FRIARY, ADARE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

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monasticism we find the cathedral in the hands of a secular chapter.[1]

More architecturally interesting on the whole than the houses of the monks, certainly more characteristically Irish, are the dwellings that were raised by the friars, not only among the buildings in the streets of towns but also beside far-off rocks and lonely tarns. In England the remains of the friaries are exceedingly scanty and the reason is not far to seek. They were all situated in towns which in almost every instance have otherwise disposed of their sites. Only here and there, either because the towns were small and did not grow, as in the case of the Austin friary at Clare in Suffolk, or because their buildings were acquired for other purposes by the city, as with the Black friary (St. Andrew's hall) at Norwich, or the Grey friary at Chichester, may their remains be studied to-day.

In Ireland very many friaries still remain, and in several cases they would require little beyond carpentry to restore their original appearance. The Irish towns as a rule did not grow or seriously covet the land that the friaries held: many of the religious houses are in the open country, and some continued to be occupied by friars till long after the time of Henry VIII. Friars became exceedingly popular in Ireland, so much so that before very long they had pretty fully occupied the towns, their proper sphere of labour, and spread into the smallest villages and even the woods beyond. In such spots it was almost impossible for them to discharge the functions for which their orders had been instituted, and they must have become practically indistinguishable from the monks; their dwellings are very largely known as abbeys.

Even with so many openings at home we get sundry hints that in later years Irish friars sometimes flowed over into England, where the native supply was less. Thus from an inventory of Henry VIII's commissioners at Shrewsbury we learn: 'As touching the Austin friars,

[1] It seems that the dean supplanted the abbot; Archdall's last mention of an abbot is in 1160; after the building of the cathedral the *Cal. Papal Letters* have several mentions of the dean and chapter. It stands in the same yard as the monastic ruins; in a quoin of the south transept is a hole through which St. Bridget is fabled to have thrust her arm (after the manner of later women) to prevent herself being dragged away from Kildare.

Vols. v to x of *Cal. Papal Letters* are exceedingly rich in documents bearing on Irish ecclesiastical history.

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there were no more but a prior and two Crysche friars, and all utensils gone, and no thing there to help the friars, not so much as a chalice to say mass; and no man durst trust the prior to lend him any, so that all that was in all the house could not be praised at 26s. 8d; no bedding nor meat, bread nor drink. Wherefore the said visitor discharged the said prior of that office, and assigned the two Cryschemen into Ireland, into their native 'convents.'[1]

Most of the friary churches are on the same general plan. The quire or 'capella' is literally separated from the 'navis ecclesiae'[2] by a thin middle tower, through which passes what is hardly more than a tunnel. Sometimes the nave has aisles, or transepts west of the tower, giving a rather singular ground-plan. This form of church was not exclusively for friars; it may be seen at the Carthusian priory of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, where the nave has two (added) shallow transepts, not quite at its eastern end, and a narrow (inserted) tunnel tower separates it from the quire (plate 1, no. 1). The cathedral of St. Lazarian at Leighlin, co. Carlow, Ireland, is also on the same lines, though it has been served by a secular chapter since it was built in the twelfth century.[3] The nave has eastern transepts and a narrow tower is built over the west end of the quire, though it seems doubtful whether this last is an original feature or was inserted when the church was largely rebuilt by bishop Saunders, 1529–1549.[4]

In the Irish friaries the tower usually rises from an oblong space of the full width of nave and quire, but from east to west of much more restricted dimension. In some examples, for instance the Blackfriars' church at Cashel, the tower is carried up its full height as a simple rather ugly oblong, but it is pierced only by a mere tunnel, opening

[1] *Chapter-house Books*, no. 309, p. 83 (quoted in *Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls ser. i, xxi, of Prof. J. S. Brewer's preface). I have copied the extract as printed, but I feel no doubt that *Crysche* should be *Erysche* (Irish). C and E in mediaeval documents are readily confused, and there is no reason to suppose that these were Crutched instead of Austin friars.

[2] These terms are used in an old register of the Friars Minor in London preserved in the Cotton library (Vitellius, f. xii), printed in the Rolls series, *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, 493–543. It is on paper, in a hand of the fifteenth century, and gives disappointingly little information architecturally valuable.

[3] An Austin priory of St. Stephen which the chapter had founded was extinguished by them in 1432.

[4] The tower as it stands has a quite late character, but it may have been rebuilt. This form of church is not very suited to modern use, but it has been imitated to some extent in St. Bartholomew's, Dublin.

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from quire to nave. Apparently, however, this oblong form of tower was soon voted a failure, as indeed it was, and then the problem arose how to make it square and still preserve the oblong space that was desired in the church below. Usually this was done, as in the Greyfriars' church at Adare (plate 1, no. 2), by the simple expedient of springing side arches between the long walls, just beyond where they were pierced by the opening between the nave and the quire, and these being without proper abutment (joining the sides, not the ends of walls) had necessarily to be fairly substantial. In this normal case the tunnel under the tower is open to nave and quire by tolerably lofty arches; north and south lower arches open to deep recesses, which are sometimes lighted, and not seldom one of them gives access to the cloister by a door.

Something of the kind was usual in English friaries, but there was far more variety than in Ireland as to the form of steeple that rose above. In the Austin friary at Atherstone (which is now the parish church) there is a low and well-proportioned octagonal tower. A much taller hexagonal tower rises over the central arches of the Blackfriars' church at King's Lynn; and at Richmond, Yorkshire, the tower of the Greyfriars' church is square and rather ornate; these two towers on their open arches being nearly all that is left of the churches. At Coventry, where the Greyfriars' steeple is incorporated in Christ Church, a structure of the early Gothic revival, the narrow arches sustain one of the famous three spires of the city. While in Ireland the tower is most often thin and lofty with the plainest battering walls, an ineffectual crown to a not very striking group of buildings.

Sometimes, however, the Irish friars desired to have rather wider arches opening from nave to quire and still to preserve the square form of the tower above. In Drogheda at the 'abbey of the Bear' (Sancta Maria de Urso, so known from the founder Ursus de Swemele), the difficulty was surmounted in the fifteenth century by building within the oblong space between the wide arches that open to the nave and quire three segmental arches at right-angles both north and south, each higher and nearer the centre than the next, so that the upper ones, on which the square tower stands, have no other abutment than the sides of the large

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arches. The work is so substantial that it has not suffered from this very unstructural plan; a squalid street now passes up the centre of the venerable church, and jaunting-cars rumble and jolt over the muddy stones under the arches of the ancient tower.[1]

At the Magdalen Steeple[2] in the same town the same problem is solved by a much less ingenious scheme, in a manner characteristically Irish. The north and south walls simply bend inwards, and so roughly framed is the rubble masonry that it is really difficult to say whether the structure should be deemed an example of corbelled work, each course projecting a little further than the last, or as the two sides of an arch of which the tower forms the majestic key-stone. At any rate one is reminded of the old Irish corbel-roofs of very lofty pitch, which gradually and, if one may judge from the masonry of St. Columba's house at Kells, almost unconsciously, landed the builders in tunnels formed by very pointed arches.

Within the churches of the friars these tunnel-towers were further blocked by the insertion of very ample rood-lofts. As a rule these were structures of timber resting on corbels that still survive.[3] Besides completely dividing the tunnel-chambers with floors, they frequently projected east and west to form galleries both in nave and quire. At Irrelagh (Muckross) this gallery was entered in the north wall of the quire by a door leading out of the dorter (p. 116). At the Greyfriars' church in Waterford the door is in much the same position, but it is reached by a stair whose lower entrance is in the north-east corner of the tower. A window looking over the cloister roof in the Austin church at Adare (p. 125) was clearly pierced in order to light the rood-gallery in the east part of the nave.

These tunnel-towers became the recognised form for the churches of friaries to take in England and Ireland (there are, of course, exceptions) from the least to the greatest. The very large Dominican church in Norwich

[1] There is some doubt as to the early appropriation of this priory or hospital, but the Crutched friars were certainly in possession at the time the church was built.

[2] A Dominican house founded in 1224 by primate Luke Netterville. This tower is all that has survived.

[3] At Ross abbey the rood-loft under the tower is supported on a stone arch; at Sligo a vaulted structure projects into the nave. I have not been able to visit them. Champneys publishes a good illustration (p. 180).

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[*W. Temperley, phot.*

NO. I. IRRELAGH (MUCKROSS) ABBEY CHURCH : INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

NO. 2. FRANCISCAN FRIARY, ADARE : INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

*To face page* 115.

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(now St. Andrew's hall) evidently had something of the kind, but the tower fell in 1712. This tunnel-plan does not seem, however, to have existed (at any rate commonly) on the continent of Europe.[1]

A very accessible and a most characteristic friary is that of the Franciscans at Waterford. The 'Four Masters' record its foundation in 1240 by Sir Hugh Purcell; the quire with its fine lancets, three in the eastern wall, evidently belongs to that date. The tower was inserted during the fifteenth century; it is pierced by a mere tunnel, and this was blocked up by a very large rood-gallery that came out a whole bay into the nave. The nave was very much changed when, in 1545, it was floored over to form the hospital of the Holy Ghost. The whole is open to the sky to-day, and some of the post-dissolution grave-stones and mural tablets are interesting, either for presenting us with illustrations of all the objects connected with the Passion from the thirty pieces of silver to St. Peter's cock, or as commemorating some of the forebears of Lord Roberts.[2]

By no means the least remarkable thing about many of these Irish friaries is the remoteness of their sites. From a manuscript description of Kerry written about 1750, and preserving a much older tradition (now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy), we hear that during the fifteenth century MacCarthy More, lord of Desmond, was warned in a vision that he must not place the monastery that he planned to found elsewhere than at Carraig-an-chiuil. As he knew of no such place within his principality he sent out his servants in search of it.

[1] The quire is widely open to the nave in every friary I can think of on the mainland from the fourteenth-century Franciscan church at Stockholm, which is now the Riddarsholms-kyrka, containing the ashes of the Swedish kings, to the sixteenth-century Franciscan church at Gibraltar, which is now the king's chapel and echoes with the lusty singing of British troops. Of course the arches of many Norman central towers block the view quite as much as those of any 'tunnel-tower,' only this effect was not deliberate—the reason for such narrow arches was structural.

[2] Of the Dominican convent in the same town hardly anything survives save that the church tower still lifts its Irish battlements high over the rather squalid dwellings of the slums. A more beautiful example of much the same type of building is the friary of St. Francis at Kilkenny, where the roofless thirteenth-century quire still stands in mute protest beside a brewery that occupies the cloister site. Seven fair lancets under a single arch pierce through the eastern wall (plate III, no. 1). From Clyn (*Annalium Hiberniae Chronicon*) we learn '1347: item incepit confraternitas fratrum minorum Kilkennie pro campanili novo erigendo,' but the present tunnel-tower certainly seems at any rate to have been finished about a century later.

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They had entirely failed and were returning home in despair when, by the eastern pass, in glorious scenery on the shore of Lough Leane (or the lower lake of Killarney) they heard, issuing from a rock, music of the most enchanting kind. This they correctly judged must be the sought-for Carraig-an-chiuil, or the rock of music. Here the convent was built, known of old as Irrelagh, but called Muckross to-day. The story would not be in the least specially remarkable if the proposed religious house were to have been occupied by Cistercian monks instead of by Franciscan friars.

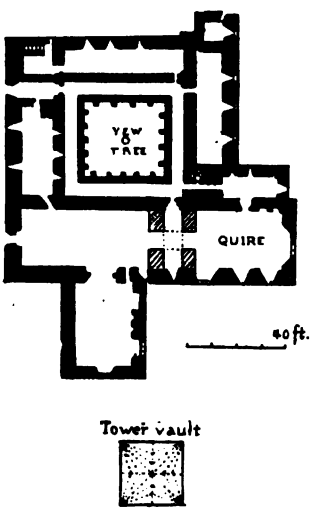


FIG. 11. PLAN OF IRRELAGH (MUCKROSS) ABBEY.

The building is extremely compact, and was evidently designed with some eye to defence (fig. 11); every important door has deep holes for a large wooden bolt. Although the plans were evidently modified a little during the progress of the works, it does not appear that there are any important differences in the dates of the various parts. It was begun in or about 1440. The church has an unusually narrow tunnel-tower (plate II, no. 1), inserted shortly after the rest was built; east of it is the quire with a three-storied sacristy on the north, westward is the nave with a large south transept opening by a doorway and an arch. The tower has a rather elaborately ribbed vault, almost the

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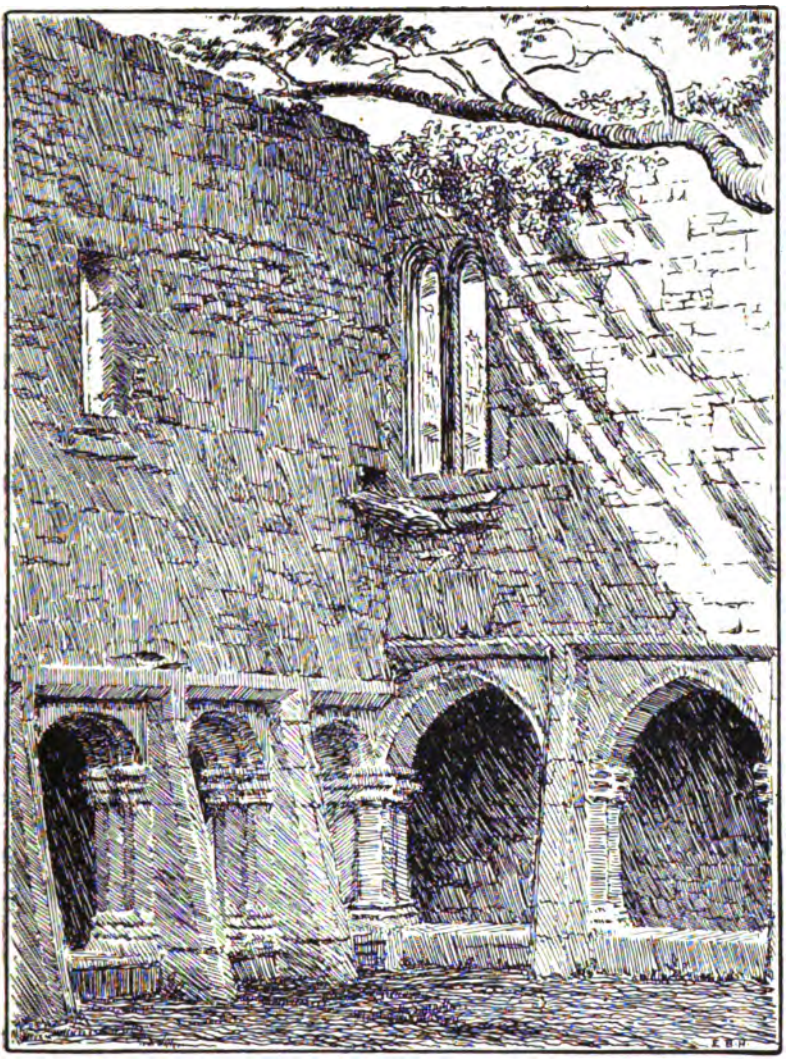

FIG. 12. IRRELAGH (MUCKROSS) ABBEY; NORTH-WEST CORNER OF CLOISTER.

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only part of the convent that is not perfectly plain; a doorway through its deep little recess on the north leads into the corner of the cloister.[1] From the dark and tunnel-like vaulted walks[2] six little round arches west and south, five larger ones, slightly pointed, east and north, open into the narrow and solemn 'paradise' whose religious gloom is deepened by the fact that the high walls rise straight over the arches all around, and a huge yew tree in the centre spreads out its branches over the tops of the walls and excludes the sunlight (fig. 12). The arches rest on double shafts, whose details are of the plainest kind, and sloping buttresses against the piers hold up lintels above the arches[3] to prevent their being crushed by the walls. On the ground floor there are only vaulted rooms for stores; a stair from the passage to the sacristy leads straight up on to the floor of the dorter over the eastern side, above chambers and cloister walk. Over the north are the frater and kitchen, with large fireplaces back to back. The west part has more numerous chambers with a squint to the nave of the church. A long alley extends over the southern walk. It is extremely usual though by no means universal that the cloisters of Irish friaries should extend under the buildings, instead of forming aisle-passages against their sides.[4]

Most of the windows at Irrelagh are of normal 'perpendicular' type, but from the frater one may look into the shadowy 'paradise' through a pair of lancets with a mullion between (fig. 12). By the fifteenth century the Gothic style was visibly breaking up after having for more than two hundred years maintained a uniformity through the whole of western Europe that on the whole was surprising, despite very considerable local diversity. The English happily declined to follow the French into the extravagances of 'flamboyant,' and developed a more

[1] It seems to have been the usual practice to have the conventual buildings of friaries on the northern side of the church, probably to help mark the difference between them and the dwellings of monks. Of course there are many individual examples of monks' cloisters on the north side of the churches, though they are exceptional.

Hardly a stone of Irrelagh is out of place to-day, but not a stick of the timbering remains.

[2] Tunnel-vaulting on the south, quadripartite of the roughest kind on the three other sides.

[3] In this respect resembling a well-known principle of Roman construction.

[4] This was also often the case in England, an excellent example being the Blackfriars' convent at Norwich.

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sober and reasonable form of late Gothic. The Scots refused to adopt it[1]; the Irish preferred to have a style of their own, characterised chiefly by the revival of features of earlier years, especially lancet windows and round arches. But even at first glance they do not look more ancient than they are; indeed in some cases they are more likely to be taken for the work of the early nineteenth century than for that of the thirteenth.

Candour compels one to admit that this national Irish style, so well exemplified in the friaries, is one of the thinnest, baldest and least striking in all Europe. A greater contrast there could hardly be than between the massive, richly-adorned and deep-moulded little churches of the Irish Romanesque and these large, flat-featured and skinnily-worked structures that rose after four centuries had passed.

The style is best displayed by the friaries, presumably because they were the most important buildings that were going up at the time. They are quite as beautiful as the ordinary secular churches of Ireland, which in contrast with English ones are as a rule exceedingly plain. Good examples in the fourteenth century are the cathedral at Cloyne, associated with the memory of Berkeley, and the very similar collegiate church at Youghal, close to which Raleigh first planted his potatoes. The Irish friaries show but little of the spirit that caused brother John Naverius in the thirteenth century to deprive a friar of his hood at Gloucester, because he had decorated the panels of a pulpit with pictures.[2]

Nor is this Irish style without great beauties of its own. The rather feeble towers of most of the friaries were clearly matter of choice, and not necessitated by any lack of skill. The west tower of the monastic church at Slane (p. 132) is an admirable piece of work, quite equal to an average English 'perpendicular' tower of about the same size and date. It rises unbuttressed at the west end of the church and is very plain, except that the top stage has corner turrets produced by sinking the walls a few inches, each

[1] Except in some individual cases such as Melrose abbey and Corstorphine church.

[2] Thomas of Eccleston, *de Adventu FF. Minorum in Angliam* (*Monumenta Franciscana*, i, 29).

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side pierced by a couple of lancets (fig. 13). An exceedingly beautiful feature of Irish work is the tendency for dripstone corbels to consist not merely of a head or boss, but of foliage spreading over quite a space of wall. A good example is in the east window of the aisle of the Austin priory, now the parish church at Adare (p. 125); others may be seen on the stout ashlar walls of the old Lynch house at Galway.[1] In some cases, as at Irrelagh, battering plinths instead of buttresses have a very substantial looking and pleasing effect.

FIG. 13. TOWER AT SLANE.

Among delightful meadows by the Maigue, near the pleasant little village of Adare, there are three large friaries in the open country, and their great and far-seen chapels form a striking contrast to the small and towerless parish church.[2] Thus the 'Four Masters' record the foundation

[1] Other examples are illustrated by Champneys, pl. cv, p. 188.

[2] This simple Romanesque structure was in use till 1806, when the Austin friary took its place. In its yard is an interesting detached chapel called by old residents the earl of Desmond's chapel of ease, and remarkable for having had an original west gallery (or dwelling-room) with seats in the west window. The Trinitarian friary was restored in the early nineteenth century for the Roman Catholics. The Grey friary with the old churchyard and the striking ruins of the castle by the river are in the singularly beautiful demesne of the earls of Dunraven.

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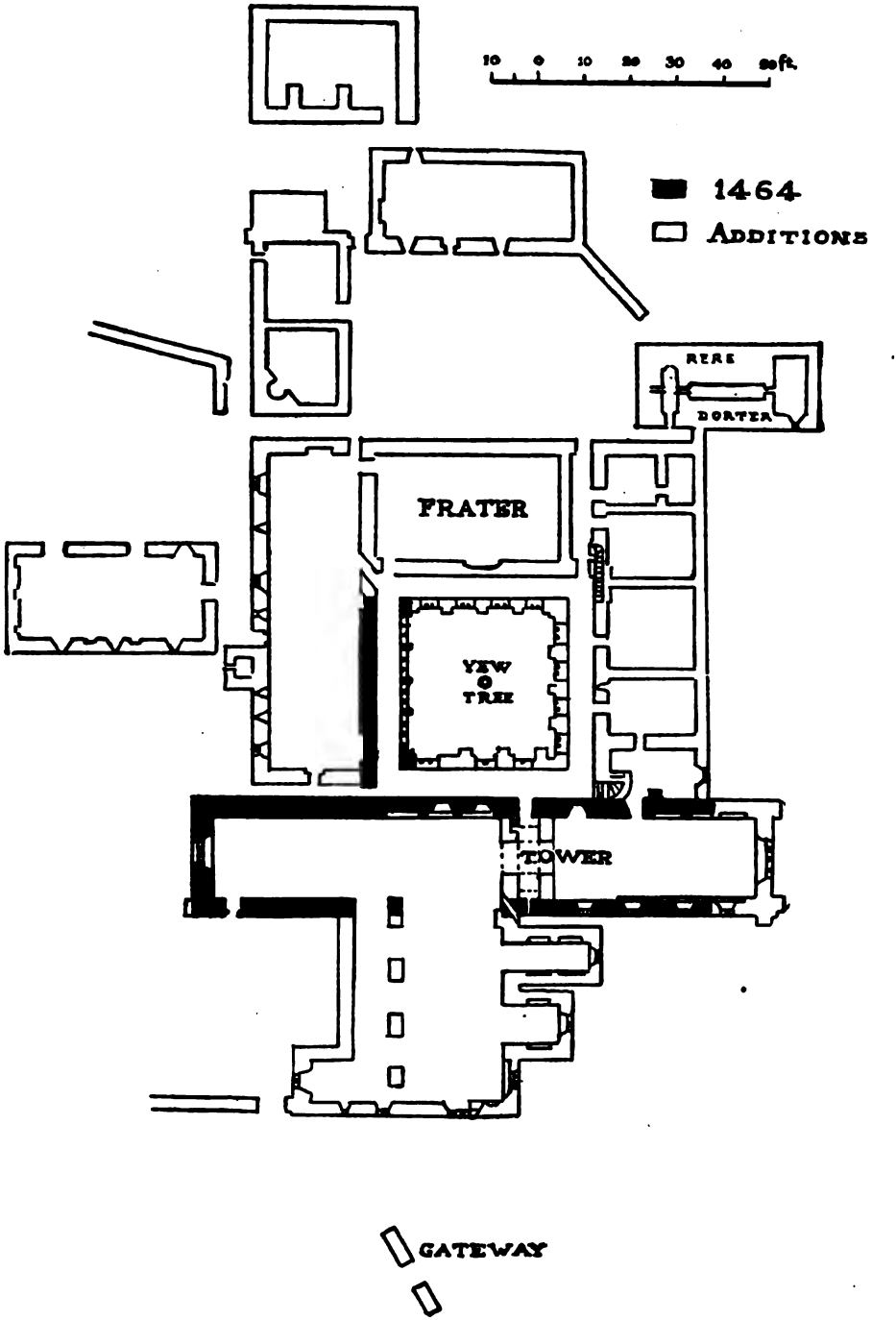


FIG. 14. PLAN OF FRANCISCAN FRIARY, ADARE.

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of the largest and latest house : '1464 : a Franciscan monastery was founded at Ath-dara, in Munster, in the diocese of Limerick, on the banks of the river Maigh, by Thomas earl of Kildare, and Joan, daughter of James earl of Desmond, who erected a tomb for themselves in it.'

From a manuscript in the Franciscan library at Louvain[1] we learn the names of the benefactors by whom different parts were erected, and gather that the tower as usual was an afterthought, also that the necessary buildings were provided within about forty years of the foundation, the quire also being lengthened and large transept and chapels added (fig. 14).

In some ways the work of the founders, the west walk of the cloister, with the double arches and octagonal shafts so characteristic of Ireland, and the nave and west part of the quire with three tall lancets piercing the western wall, are more beautiful than the later additions with their rather featureless arches, their large windows with plain intersecting mullions or uninteresting square-headed openings. The chambers on the west side of the cloisters, presumably the prior's house or guest-halls, are remarkable for some striking fireplaces, one having a projecting horizontal arch of fifteen stones, whose abutment is formed by large corbels ; on its cornice are a lion and two leaves. The buildings are rather scattered, the purpose of some being by no means clear. There is no provision for defence except that (of all parts) the rere-dorter, a nearly detached structure north-east of the cloister, is rather poorly crenellated. A yew-tree grows in the middle of the garth.

The lofty tunnel[2] through the tower (plate II, no. 2) was blocked by a timber rood-gallery of the usual style ; the battering steeple above rises thin and ineffective to the height of about eighty feet. The church is very rich in sepulchral recesses with pinnacles and canopies of the plainest, but its strangest peculiarity is undoubtedly the extraordinary south transept, opening by two plain arches (another leading to its western aisle), extending outwards 48 feet, and giving to the whole a very queer ground-plan.

[1] *History of the Franciscan Convents in Ireland*, by Donatus Mooney, 1617, quoted in Lord Dunraven's *Memorials of Adare*, 1865.

[2] This is 24 feet high, but only 9½ feet in width.

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Two chapels of unequal length extend from the transept toward the east, while from its western aisle a most unusually-placed south chapel projects towards the west.

Transepts oddly placed and frequently of somewhat undue length are very characteristically Irish. The most interesting example is the late twelfth-century cathedral church at Limerick, which, by the reckless addition of transepts, has become a quasi-five-aisled church, most confused and unsatisfactory in plan. The Arthur chapel, finished after 1500, is larger than the original transepts, but with its great height and huge triplet, opening as it does only by two of the original arches and clerestory windows to the middle aisle, it would not be easy to exaggerate the sprawling and meaningless appearance it presents.

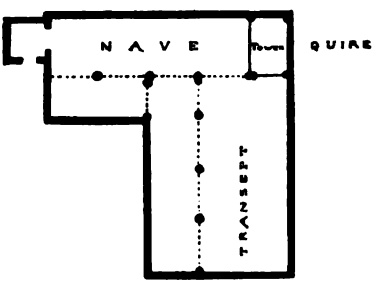


FIG. 15. SKETCH-PLAN OF THE BLACK ABBEY, KILKENNY (not to scale).

The black abbey at Kilkenny, restored about fifty years ago by the Dominican order to which it originally belonged, is a very striking example of this tendency to transeptal eccentricity. The church consists of a nave with southern aisle and south transept wider and of about equal length, having its aisle on the west (fig. 15). That the transept is later than the nave is apparent from the fact that its arcade ends in a respond clumsily plastered against an older pillar; evidently the builders hesitated to put the whole thrust of the new arcade on to a single and none too massive shaft. Similarly an arch thrown across the old aisle in the line of the wall of the new one has a second pillar raised unconformably against another one of the old arcade. The explanation seems to be that soon after the church was finished (or possibly before) it was desired to

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enlarge it; and the west porch with chamber above, each open to the nave by a large round arch and each tunnel-vaulted (the lower at right-angles to the axis of the church), prevented extension to the west, while the conventual buildings forbade the erection of more than a single transept.[1]

The confusing appearance of this remarkable building is greatly heightened by the walling-off of the oblong tower which once gave access to the quire, but nothing of this remains. The tower opens by a narrow arch into the transept, instead of, as is usual, being to the east of it. To nave and quire it was open by arches as wide as well could be; the usual tunnel plan is not found here. An inscription on the arch that once led to the quire proves the date of the tower to be not far on either side of the year 1500. A prayer is asked for James Shorthals, lord of Ballylorcan and Ballykyfe, likewise for Katherine Whyte his wife, 'who gave the builders of the tower their daily pay from the beginning to the end.' Their tomb was made in 1507. There are indications that this tower was covered by a very Spanish-looking vault similar to those that still remain in the cathedral churches at Kilkenny and Leighlin, which are to be attributed to the influence of David Hacket, bishop of Ossory 1460–1479.[2]

Another friary having an open tower is the white abbey, or Trinitarian house, at Adare.[3] The tower is of massive fourteenth-century work (plate III, no. 2), and contains several of the little wall-chambers so common in the military architecture both of Scotland and Ireland. The turrets

[1] The building is of the thirteenth century, but it was much altered and provided with large decorated windows in the fourteenth. The Benedictine (now cathedral) church at Chester presents an obvious transept analogy on a vastly larger scale.

[2] He built the tower-vault in his own cathedral of Kilkenny. That of Leighlin is clearly copied from it: probably also that of this house.

[3] Lord Dunraven quotes Lopez, *Noticias Historicas del Orden de la Santissima Trinidad [por la] Redempcion de Cautivos en Inglaterra, Escocia, y Hybernia*, as authority for its foundation in 1230 by Gregory of Dunbar, earl of March, in gratitude for the redemption of his two nephews from Algerine pirates by friar Cummins, who became the first prior. The first earl of Dunbar to call himself earl of March was Patrick, who succeeded in 1289. There is no Gregory in the list, but George, third earl of March, who succeeded in 1368, suits the date of the existing building.

I cannot help thinking that Lopez, whose work was published in 1714, has some connexion with a manuscript in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, known as 'Historia ordinis SS. Trinitatis.' This manuscript was copied by Father Hay of Roslin, and many inaccurate particulars have at different times been quoted from it: see Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, ed. J. Maitland Thomson, p. 376.

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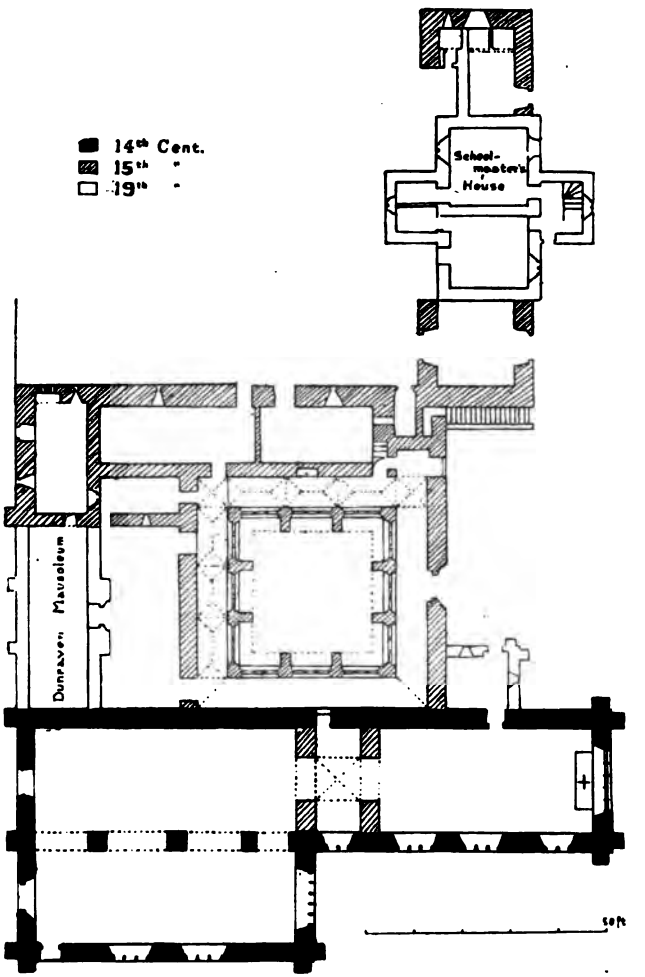


FIG. 16. PLAN OF THE AUSTIN FRIARY (PARISH CHURCH), ADARE.

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and parapet must be almost entirely modern, as they do not appear in an old print of 1810, published by Lord Dunraven. The arches within are as wide as they could be, but the position of a piscina shows that there must have been a screen across the west. The simple quadripartite vault has little heads under the corbels.

There is much of interest in the Austin friary at Adare, (fig. 16), particularly in the fact that, being still in use, it enables us to realise the very ungainly original appearance of one of the thin battering tunnel-towers, stuck through the roof.[1] The charming little cloister-garth departs from the usual Irish plan by having mullioned windows, instead of arches, three on each side, opening from the walks into 'paradise.' The frater (now the school for Church of Ireland boys and girls) is raised on tunnel-vaulted rooms and over the northern walk; the others have flat concrete over their stone-arched roofs. All these features are of the fifteenth century, but the church, nave, quire and southern aisle, was built about a hundred years before, not all at the same time. Nearly all the windows are of the common intersecting-mullion type, which in England was in vogue for a time at the first birth of tracery, about the end of the thirteenth century, then was not known again till Tudor and Jacobean times. In Ireland it seems to have had a continuous history.

The sedilia of the high altar are of great beauty, displaying the water-moulding with trefoiled arches rising from the shafts. Left to the light of nature and in the absence of documents one would be almost certain this work was earlier than about 1315 when the house was founded by John first earl of Kildare. It is possible, indeed, that they were brought here from somewhere else, particularly as the piscina does not display the water-moulding; but the more likely and simple explanation seems to be that Irish masons, being animated by a deep respect for the past and influenced by a laudable conservatism, declined to move with the times. If they conscientiously thought the earlier mouldings more beautiful than those in vogue at the time, who will dare to say they were wrong?

[1] The beautiful tower of the Austin friary (now parochial) church at Atherstone is also rather spoilt by the awkward way in which it rises through the tiles of the roof.

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[*P. M. Johnston, phot.*

NO. I. ST. FRANCIS' ABBEY, KILKENNY : QUIRE.

NO. 2. TRINITARIAN ABBEY, ADARE : TOWER FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

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The whole appearance and character of many Irish religious houses have been changed in later times by the provision made for their fortification, so much so that in some cases what in truth was an abbey is now universally called a castle. It is not flattering to the Pax Britannica to realise that in early days such defences were not deemed necessary (Mellifont appears originally to have had no fortifications of any kind), but that in the late fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, after many years of supposed English rule, a great many religious houses were more or less elaborately crenellated.

Fortified monasteries are by no means confined to Ireland, or even to Europe, or indeed even to the Christian faith. And one might travel all the way from Ireland to the Far East, through Greece and Palestine and Tibet, visiting some sort of fortified monastery or church or temple every few days of the journey. Many and very interesting are the fortified convents of England. In the strongly-placed house of St. Etheldreda at Ely the Saxons under Hereward made their last stand against the Norman conquerors. The defences of St. Mary's abbey at York form a most impressive adjunct to the walls of the city which they join. The cathedral priory at Norwich was fortified long years before the city was walled. The *Paston Letters*[1] tell us how on 6th April, 1452, a lawless age, the defences of the Carmelite friary in the same city preserved certain folk, who may be presumed to have been innocent, from the attack of forty thieves. At one of the gates of St. Edmund's abbey the saints could defend the church by being pushed from their niches on to the heads of assailants, so unmasking loop-holes for arrows that had thoughtfully been provided behind.

But while in England fortified monasteries rested secure behind stout walls and were not architecturally affected, in Ireland it was the claustral buildings themselves that put on the garb of war, and for better defence there was a tendency to prevent the buildings from straggling beyond the single square. It cannot be said that fighting came

[1] Gairdner's ed. (1872) vol. i, no. 179, p. 238, and no. 201, pp. 278–279. Neither of these documents is exactly a letter. No. 179 is headed (by Gairdner) 'A.D. 1452: information of outrages'; and no. 201 'A.D. 1454: information against Robert Ledham.'

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altogether unhandy to the Irish; their ancient saints themselves sometimes took up arms. Celtic religious houses were not infrequently fortified, and the round towers had undoubtedly been raised as citadels, though that was not their only use.

The military architecture of Ireland is little less interesting than the ecclesiastical, and the two are often blent. We have already glanced at the fortified west tower of Cashel, standing in a spot defended both by nature and by art (p. 97); the middle tower itself has unmistakably a most aggressive look. The early fourteenth-century chapel added eastward of the ancient quire at Tuam (p. 95) has far-projecting parapets on heavy corbels that would be far more in place on a castle.[1]

The cathedral church at Kildare (p. 110) actually has parapets with machicolations resting on arches that spring from buttress to buttress,[2] making the shrine of St. Bridget look almost as much like a castle as a church, an appearance not altogether unsuited to a place of worship for the Curragh camp, but that in this case serious defence was hardly aimed at is evident from the fact that the communications between the different parapets are open flights of steps over the gables, across which whosoever travels would be an easy mark indeed for any attacking force.

At Mellifont fortification seems to have been confined to a lofty and extremely plain round-arched tower, apparently of the fifteenth century, under which doubtless passed the mediaeval track, though the modern road is on one side (p. 99). A much earlier example of a fortified religious house is given in 1266, when, as the 'Four Masters' tell us, Maelpatrick O'Scannal 'primate of Armagh,'[3] cut a broad and deep trench round the church of the Friars

[1] From Vatican manuscripts quoted in Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin* we learn that it had been used as a fortress by the neighbouring gentry without any service for 300 years, when Christopher Bodkin, who became archbishop in 1555 (and took the oath of allegiance to Elizabeth), restored it to its proper use by force, as is recorded in a letter from David Wolfe, papal delegate to the cardinal protector of Ireland, dated at Limerick in 1561.

[2] There is a marked tendency to reproduce such arches in modern churches, for example St. David's, Exeter, and Liverpool cathedral church.

[3] There is plenty of ancient authority for such an expression, though it hardly seems correct. One would suppose it better to describe the ecclesiastic in question either as archbishop of Armagh or as primate of Ireland.

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Minor, having himself brought the order into the city. Not a vestige of trench or church is to be seen.

The abbey of Bective ('de beatitudine'), a Cistercian house founded by Murchard O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, in the middle of the twelfth century, stands on the Boyne, not far from Tara. The buildings are extremely interesting from having been entirely reconstructed during the fifteenth century with a single eye to defence. The west end of the early fourteenth-century church was taken down and a very plain new wall erected in line with the claustral buildings on that side, a purely military piece of work,

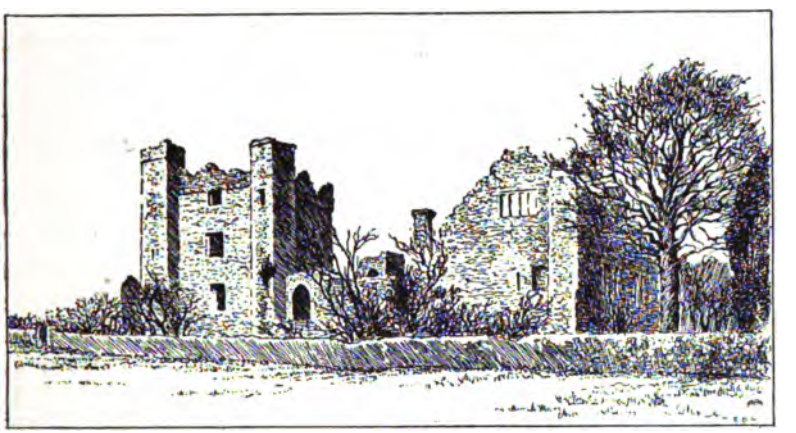

FIG. 17. BECTIVE ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

pierced with splayed arrow-slits. The south arcade of the church was walled up and large 'perpendicular' windows were clumsily pierced to look into a little new 'paradise' very much like a castle court, cloister walks only west and south (plate IV, no. 2). These meet each other under one corner of a huge square tower with large square turrets and small square windows, whose far sides are exposed to the fields without. This great tower rises high over everything else and seems to proclaim the convent a fortress through the country far around (fig. 17). The two

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cloister walks have arches so heavy and flat and badly planned that but for new supports they would long ago have slipped down. Over the southern walk extends the frater, approached by an outside stair of stone, closely watched by a little guard-chamber in a corner of the great tower. The usual arrangements of the order of St. Bernard were evidently much interfered with, and on the east side of 'paradise,' about where one would expect to find the entrance to the chapter-house, a vast chimney projects. The lower fireplace is in a dark square chamber whose gloomy rubble vault rests on an octagonal pier, with round base and square cap; it was probably either the kitchen or the warming-house. The fireplace above belongs to a large hall which may be presumed to have been the dorter, as it touches the transept of the church. Nothing remains of the quire or the northern aisle; they were perhaps taken down when the reconstruction was carried out; at any rate nothing that survives is allowed to project beyond the square save a military outwork on the west.

An interesting example of a religious house that, with its appearance, has changed its modern name is the priory of St. John Baptist of the Crutched friars, to-day known as the 'castle' of Newtown Trim. It stands on the Boyne a little lower than the old priory (p. 107), and although its fortifications are far more conspicuous than any other part, it is remarkable for the possession of a long thirteenth-century church,[1] into which no tunnel-tower was ever thrust. The east wall is pierced by three lancets contained under a segmental arch, and the little northern chapel still retains its tunnel-vault, semi-octagonal responds on the south, neat corbels on the north. Its east window has the double splay that in England is characteristic of Saxon work, and a doorway pierces the northern wall at the very eastern end. This church is on the south side of a long rectangular uncloistered court, whose northern side along the Boyne is formed by a series of flattish vaults, over which rises a tower, and resembles in a general way some of the fortified dwellings of Scotland. At the west end of the court, facing the road, is a regular keep with two great turrets, projecting to the north and south

[1] 119 × 24 feet.

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NO. I. ANCIENT IRISH MASONRY AT TOMGRANEY CHURCH.

NO. 2. BECTIVE ABBEY: NORTH-WEST CORNER OF CLOISTER COURT.

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from the north-east and south-west. The lower stage is roughly tunnel-vaulted, the two upper have corbels for floors of wood. In this house, too, the fortifications seem to belong to the fifteenth century.

Some idea of the destination of the different parts may be gathered from the inventory taken at the surrender to Henry VIII by Laurence White, the last prior, on 16th July, 1539, when the house is described as 'containing a church, two towers, an hall, storehouse, kitchen, brew-house, two granaries, a pigeon-house and haggard.'[1]

How far in this distressful land went the idea that spiritual men must frequently wage carnal warfare is apparent from a grant made in 1378 by Richard II to the Carmelite friars at Leighlin 'in consideration of the great labour, burden and expence which the priors of this monastery have and do sustain in supporting their house and the bridge contiguous thereto against the king's enemies.'[2] In other words a harmless community of friars became a more or less recognised royal garrison, whose duty it was to keep open communications by guarding an important bridge over the Barrow. After the dissolution the friary was maintained as an ordinary stronghold, known as the Black Castle; the existing remains by the weedy river, facing the half-ruined town of Leighlin Bridge, show that the friars lived behind a stout curtain-wall, and a heavy oblong tower still speaks of the lawless past.

An interesting example of a very late religious house abandoning all architectural traditions, actually detached from the church and indistinguishable from an ordinary fortified dwelling, may be seen at Slane, looking over the Boyne to the plain of Meath from a ridge of wooded hills. It is a very ancient site of monastic worship, and the 'Four Masters' record in 948 how 'The belfry of Slaine was burned by the foreigners, with its full of relics and distinguished persons, together with Caeineachair, lector of Slaine, and the crozier of the patron saint, and a bell the best of bells.'

[1] *Rot. Pat.* E. A. Conwell, *Hist. and Arch. Ass. of Ireland*, 1874. The house was granted to Robert Dillon.

[2] Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, 1786. However, possibly the meaning is simply that the priors had the burden of maintaining a body of armed laymen to hold the bridge.

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The long and very narrow ruined church[1] is not specially remarkable, except perhaps for the three rude pointed arches whose rough rubble masonry starts prac-

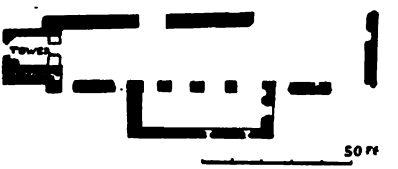


FIG. 18. SLANE FRIARY CHURCH.

tically from the ground, opening (with another smaller arch) into a south aisle (fig. 18).

In 1512 the convent was refounded by Sir Christopher

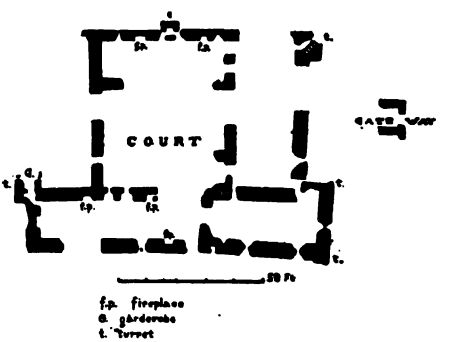


FIG. 19. SLANE FRIARY.

Fleming, and the present roofless house evidently dates from that time, though not all erected at once.[2] The small

[1] Its later west tower has already been mentioned (p. 120).

[2] This is very evident from the irregularity of the plan; the two parts of the south side are not in a straight line. There seems, however, to be very little difference in date.

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uncloistered court has buildings on the north and south and east, but only a wall on the west (fig. 19). Turrets and fragments of parapets with remains of a gateway to the east show that some care was taken for defence; the fireplaces and transomed windows with two very well arranged garderobes show that some attention was paid to comfort. One lower room retains a tunnel-vault, a shelter for cattle to-day, for all is in neglect.[1] The original inmates of the house were Franciscans of the third order, which properly consisted of laymen who did not leave the world, but maintained the same sort of organisation for good works as the famous confraternity of the Misericordia at Florence. The first two orders were for friars and friaresses. It seems that some observed the full vows of the order, but nevertheless in their modesty refused to claim the stricter profession. From the great comfort of the buildings here one might be tempted to guess that perhaps it formed a training place for laymen, who came for a season to prepare for the work they had to do in the world, but I know of nothing whatever to support the conjecture.

Fortified churches were still built in later days on the unpeaceful Irish soil. The parish church of Antrim, dated 1596, an interesting example of the Gothic of that time, has its mullioned windows placed high in the thick and well-built walls, which below them are loop-holed for musketry.

Much of value has been written about the history of monasticism in Ireland, but very little about its special architectural arrangements. Many famous houses are not mentioned, because I have been unwilling to depart from my strict rule to set nothing down but from personal observation, but I trust enough has been said to show that many things in Ireland were very different from anything to be seen elsewhere, and also that much light may be thrown from the other island on the arrangement of friaries in England. Earlier students were apt almost to make it an axiom that certain not inconsiderable dimensions

[1] For the plans of this house I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Westropp, whose excellent works in the publications of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland are well and most favourably known.

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were essential for architectural effect. We now see that a little wayside shrine may have more significance to the investigator than a cathedral of a hundred times its size. If what I have written helps to send English antiquaries wandering through the byways of Ireland the work will not be altogether in vain.

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# SOME ABNORMAL AND COMPOSITE HUMAN FORMS IN ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.[1]

By G. C. DRUCE, F.S.A.

The so-called grotesque figures which we see carved in our churches are of two kinds; those exhibiting malformations which would perhaps now be termed 'freaks,' and composite forms both human and animal. Many of the latter seem to be but fanciful combinations copied from illuminated manuscripts, in the margins of which they occur freely; but in certain cases their history may be traced and their presence in church architecture accounted for.

## HUMAN PRODIGIES.

Examples of human malformations are not very frequently met with in carvings. They belong to a class known as human prodigies, of which there are descriptions and illustrations in manuscripts, the details being derived from classical writers on natural history. In a bestiary of the thirteenth century in the Westminster chapter library[2] there are illustrations of thirteen of them, and in two other manuscripts of the same class in the Bodleian library[3] and the University library at Cambridge[4] there are similar illustrations, but the details do not all correspond.[5] On the final page of a manuscript[6] at the British Museum, a large folio measuring 21 by 14½ inches, there is a set of seventeen figures, with short descriptive legends, dating from about 1180. These are in outline and nude. Others are illustrated in Cotton MS. Vit. D. i (British Museum) where they are also naked, and on the Mappa Mundi at Hereford (c. 1300) and the Ebstorf map (c. 1284), reproductions of which may be seen at the British Museum.

[1] Read before the Institute, 3rd March, 1915.

[2] MS. 22.

[3] MS. Douce, 88.

[4] MS. Kk, 4, 25.

[5] For the sake of convenience these three manuscripts will be termed the Westminster, Bodleian, and Cambridge manuscripts respectively.

[6] MS. Harl. 2799.

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On the first page of the Westminster manuscript (plate 1) there are nine figures, which are as follows:

1. A man with thumb and six fingers.

2. A man pointing to his nose, indicating some abnormal feature, but, as the manuscript is discoloured, the details are indistinct. He is the representative of a people in the far East who have monstrous faces; some flat all over and without nostrils, or otherwise shapeless; others with the lower lip so protruded that in the sun's heat they cover the whole face with it when asleep; and others whose mouths are contracted into so small a hole that they suck up their food with straw-stalks. Others again are said to have no tongues and to exchange communications by a nod or gesture. All these are illustrated in MS. Harl. 2799.

Pliny is the main source for these monstrosities. In his account of Aethiopia[1] he ascribes their formation to the action of heat, saying that 'it is not surprising that towards the extremity of this region men and animals assume a monstrous form, when we consider the changeableness and volubility of fire, the heat of which is the great agent in imparting various forms and shapes to bodies.'

3. A man with four legs and feet.

4. A man with three arms and hands.

5. A man with one hand much larger than the other. These people are clothed in sleeved tunics, and in four cases have a mantle over. They are not defined by name in the text.

6. A naked human figure bending over to indicate that it goes on all fours. It has human hands, but its feet are doubtful. It represents the race called the Artabatitae, a people of Aethiopia, who according to the text walk facing the ground like cattle, and do not live beyond their fortieth year. Pliny[2] says they have four feet and wander about like wild beasts. There is an illustration in the Bodleian manuscript, in which the figure has human hands and feet, and in Harl. 2799, where it has a human head with hat on, and hands, but cloven feet and a tail. De Caumont[3] gives a cut of one

[1] bk. vi, ch. 35 (30).
[2] bk. vi, 35 (30).
[3] *Abécedaire d'Archéologie*, p. 221, 1859.

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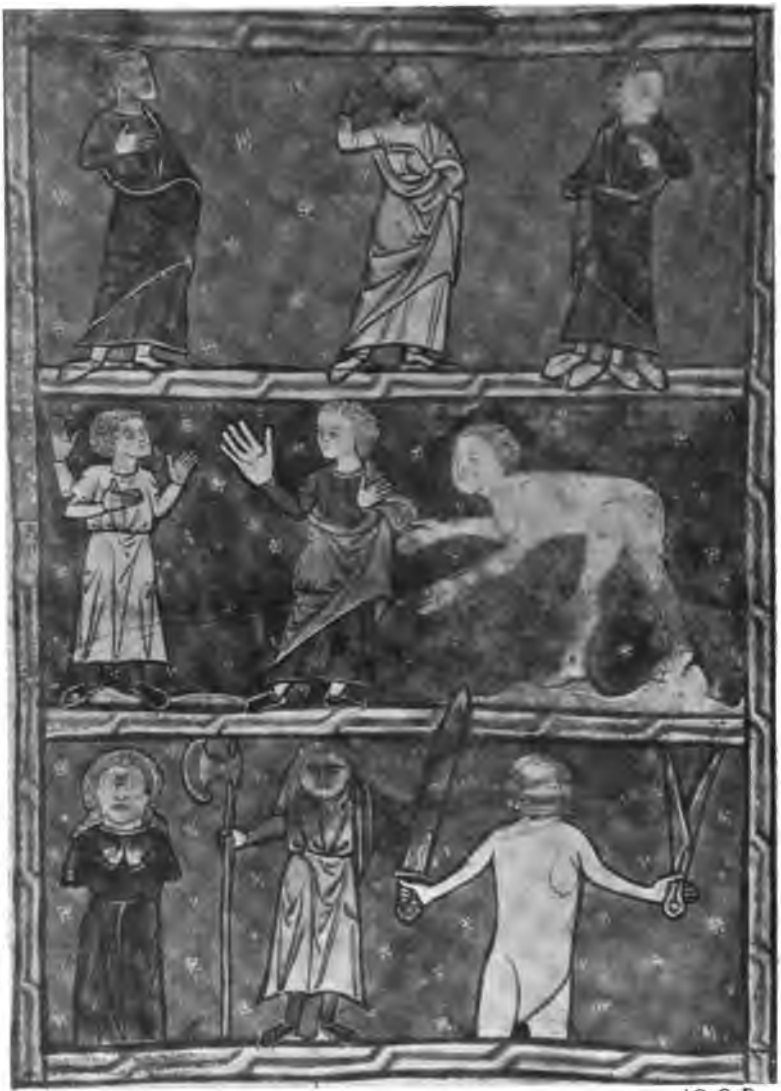

J. C. D.

HUMAN PRODIGIES: MS. 22, WESTMINSTER CHAPTER LIBRARY.

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sculptured on a monument preserved in the church at Souvigny (Allier). It is on all fours and has the fore-feet of a beast and human hind feet.

7. A man in a tunic, with long hair, short beard, and one eye in the middle of his forehead. This is one of the Cyclopes, natives of India, also called the Agriophagitae because they eat the flesh of wild beasts. They are illustrated in both the Bodleian manuscript and Harl. 2799; in the latter the Cyclops holds a small animal and a bird, representing his food.[1]

8. The next figure has his face on his breast, or more exactly in his shoulders. He is dressed in a long tunic and holds an axe and shield. In the Bodleian manuscript there are two such figures, one having an axe and shield and the other a sword and shield. In Harl. 2799 there are also two figures, naked and without weapons, but holding small animals. The texts explain that, while they are the same people, one has no neck and has his eyes in his shoulders, and the other is born without a head, and has his eyes on his breast, which comes to much the same thing. Both kinds also appear on the Hereford map.

These figures represent the race called the Blemyae. Several classical writers describe them, including Herodotus,[2] though he does not mention them by name; Pliny[3] says that they have no heads and that their mouths and eyes are on their breasts; Pomponius Mela[4] the same; and Solinus[5] states that 'they are believed to be born dismembered in the part where the head is' and to have their mouth and eyes in their breasts.

Some of these human prodigies are introduced into the French versions of the Romance of Alexander to illustrate the various monstrous creatures overcome by his prowess.[6] The Blemyae so appear, confronted by Alexander and his knights on horses. The heading is to this effect: 'Comment Alixandres trouva gens

[1] Pliny refers to the Cyclopes eating human flesh in bk. vii, ch. 2. In the same chapter he describes the Arimaspi, who fight the griffins for the gold, as having only one eye, and that in the middle of the forehead.

[2] iv, 191.

[3] bk. v, ch. 8.

[4] *de Situ Orbis*, bk. i, ch. viii.

[5] *Polybistor*, ch. xxxiv.

[6] See MSS. 20 A. v, Harl. 4979, and 19 D. i, of early fourteenth-century date; and 15 E. vi and 20 B. xx of the fifteenth century, all at the British Museum.

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sans testes et qui avoient coulour dor et les iex ou pis,'[1] and the text: 'Afterwards they departed thence and crossed a river and landed on an island, where people lived who were six feet high and of the colour of gold. These people were without heads and had their eyes and mouth in the middle of their breast, and the lower part of their body was covered by a beard which reached down to their knees. King Alexander took with him thirty of these men, to show their wonderful appearance to the other peoples of the world.' The illustrations

[*G. C. D.*

FIG. I. ONE OF THE BLEMYAE. NORWICH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

show them, three in number, as yellow, naked, headless men with their faces in their chest. In the majority of manuscripts they hold out their hands to the king, but in MS. 20 B. xx they have clubs.

A pair of Blemyae are carved as wing-subjects upon one of the misericords in Norwich cathedral church (fig. 1). Each of them is represented as a headless man, with his face upon his breast. He is dressed in a short sleeved and girdled tunic and boots, and holds a sword. His legs are bent, owing to the desire of the carver to compose his subject in a circular form. Another of these

[1] *Pis=poitrine.* In MS. 20 B. xx they have only one eye each.

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[*G. C. D.*

HUMAN PRODIGIES: MS. 22, WESTMINSTER CHAPTER LIBRARY.

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figures is carved upon a misericord in Ripon cathedral church; it is naked as in the Romance and holds a large club. Opposite to it is a figure which appears to be a variant. It has neither head nor arms, but wears a cap and veil. Upon one of the misericords from St. Nicholas church, King's Lynn, now preserved in the museum of the Architectural Association at Westminster, there is a pair of them somewhat like the last mentioned, but with tails.

9. A hermaphrodite with the right breast of a man and the left of a woman. The male half holds a sword as befitting a man, the female half shears as suitable for a woman. Pliny[1] calls such beings Androgyni, and quotes Aristotle's description. We have no record of any carvings.

On the second page of the Westminster manuscript four prodigies are illustrated (plate II).

10, 11. In the upper part is a big man with a triple face and one arm, who points to a diminutive figure perched on foliage. The latter holds what appears to be a halberd. They are the giant and the pigmy. The text tells us that the giants are the Macrobii, or the long-lived people, inhabitants of India, and twelve feet high. In the illustration in MS. Harl. 2799, the giant has a single face and hoofed feet; he is also stated to be twelve feet high. This height of twelve feet is a mistake, perhaps originally due to a copyist, but it serves to indicate the immediate source of the text, namely the chapter 'de Portentis' in the seventh book of the *de Universo* of Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz (? 786–856). He copied largely from Isidore's Etymology and added his own symbolic interpretations. Isidore says that the Macrobii are eight feet high, following Pliny, who gives their height as five cubits and two palms. The pigmies are said to be one cubit in height. They are illustrated both in the Bodleian manuscript and in Harl. 2799; in the latter as a pair of small figures holding clubs and circular embossed shields; one of them has hoofed feet. They are also illustrated in a manuscript of Mandeville at the British Museum.[2] The story of their combats with the cranes is well known.

The fact that the giant has only one arm and a triple

[1] bk. vii, ch. 2.

[2] MS. 17 C. xxxviii.

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face is not explained in the text. Rabanus mentions men with an absence or multiplication of limbs, including two heads. He also describes, next after the pigmies, Geryon, the triple man who was slain by Hercules. Whether the triple face can be explained by either of these references is a matter of uncertainty; it may be that the artist combined various features in one figure. There are examples of this triple face or combination of faces in carving on misericords at Cartmel (plate III, no. 1) and Faversham. In the former instance they are under a crown, in the latter a cap. The triple face at Cartmel is bearded, with the hair divided into conventional curls. From either side of the mouth issues a spray of foliage. Various suggestions have been made as to the signification of these faces in architecture, i.e. that they represent the Magi, the Trinity, or Janus, but we know of no documentary evidence bearing on the subject. The presence, however, of such a feature in a manuscript of this kind would be sufficient to account for its occurrence in churches.[1]

Giants are illustrated in Alexander's Romance. In MS. Harl. 4979 Alexander on horseback at the head of his knights fights a party of 'gens qui estoient grans comme jaians' in a forest. These are bearded and clothed in skins, and are armed with large clubs. The foremost is pierced in the neck by Alexander's spear, and several lie on the ground with blood streaming from their faces.[2] In MS. 20 A. v the giants are drawn like Alexander's men in armour, and have swords and shields on which are ugly human faces. The Cyclopes are also treated as giants. They appear as 'clyopes que sont de grant corsage comme iaiant et ont grosse vois et j oeil ou front.' In MS. Harl. 4979 they are drawn as naked bearded men armed with clubs, and have one large eye in the middle of the forehead. The two foremost have fallen, with blood-stained heads. In MS. 20 A. v they are represented as

[1] One of the tales in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (c. 1548–9) is entitled 'The tayl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis' (A.-S. *eoten*, a giant): see Robert Laneham's Letter: ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1907.

[2] Upon one of the misericords of the fourteenth century in Gloucester cathedral church a knight on foot with his horse behind him faces a bearded 'giant' in hood and short tunic, who brandishes a large club. The knight strikes him in the neck with his sword. This is usually regarded as a scene from the legend of Valentine and Orson, but it is uncertain. As the giant is close to a tree, the scene may be said to be in a forest.

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knights with swords and shields, and have only one eye visible. In MS. 19 D. i they are also drawn as knights like Alexander's men. The foremost has a sword. The artist has apparently made a mistake about the eyes, as they have two, but they are called in the text 'cliopes.' In the later manuscript 15 E. vi they are clothed as orientals in various garments of brilliant colours. A single eye only is visible, but that is not in the middle.

12. Below the giant is the sciapod, a very interesting prodigy. He appears as a naked man with only one leg, which terminates in an enormous foot. He lies on his back on the ground and supports his head upon his left hand. His leg is controlled by his right arm in such a way that the foot covers his head; hence his name of 'sciapod' or 'shadow-foot,' because he uses his foot as an umbrella or shade when lying in the heat of the sun. There is a good illustration in the Bodleian manuscript, in which the sun appears as a striped red and yellow ball, and others in manuscripts at the British Museum, including Harl. 2799, Cotton Vit. D. i, and the manuscript of Mandeville mentioned above; in the two latter the sciapod is holding up his leg and foot with both hands. How he keeps his balance is a problem.[1]

The text of the Westminster manuscript explains that they are inhabitants of Aethiopia, and, though possessed of only one leg, are of marvellous swiftness. We know from Pliny and Solinus, from whom the account came, that their proper name was 'monocoli,' or the one-legged race. Ctesias was the prime source.

An excellent example of the sciapod is carved on a fifteenth-century bench-end at Dennington, Suffolk (plate III, no. 2). He is dressed in a sleeved tunic, and is lying in the same attitude as in the manuscript. His legs are raised, and his feet, which are of enormous size, cover him completely. The carver has made a mistake in giving him two legs. He may have been imperfectly acquainted with the subject or may have worked from an inaccurate picture. There are three little objects under his left arm: they are small human heads

[1] 'In that contree ben folk, that han but o foot: and thei gon so fast that it is marvaylle: and the foot is so large, that it schadewethe alle the body azen the sonne, whanne thei wole lye and reste hem:' Mandeville's Travels; ed. 1725, p. 189.

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which have been defaced, as has also the head of the sciapod.

The carving at Dennington is the only one known to us in this country, but de Caumont records and illustrates an example of the twelfth century on a capital at Parize-le-Châtel (Nièvre).[1]

13. On the right of the sciapod in the Westminster manuscript are four little people within a hollow, which is intended for a cave. They gaze towards the open and point with the forefinger as if something important were occurring. In the Bodleian manuscript there are six, and they are also illustrated in the Cambridge manuscript. The texts inform us that they are the Brachmani,[2] part of whom dwell in caves like wild beasts. Pliny calls them Troglodytae, or cave-dwellers. In the Westminster and Bodleian manuscripts there is a quite charming account of their simple life and habits, derived from the Romance of Alexander. It is embodied in the letter which they sent to him, urging that they possessed nothing the desire of which might tempt him to wage war on them. Alexander was so much touched that he refrained from attacking them. At the end of the story there is added a pretty little moral sentiment as follows: 'And perhaps if he had attacked them he would have by no means prevailed, because innocence is not easily overcome, and truth standing fast in its own strength triumphs over wickedness as it were like an armed force.'

In the Westminster manuscript the Brachmani are clothed in tunics and mantles, but in the Romance they are naked. The heading in MS. 20 A. v runs: 'Ci poes vous oir comment li rois Alixandre et son ost troverent hommes et femmes qui aloient tout nu et navoient nule habitation fors en caves et en roces de montaingues.' The illustrations show a party of armed knights on horseback with Alexander at their head approaching a mountain, in the recesses of which are a varying number of the Brachmani as naked men and women. One of them, their king, is crowned. They hold out their hands as if addressing Alexander, and in the two fifteenth-century manuscripts (15 E. vi and 20 B. xx) a letter is being handed to him

[1] *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*, p. 220.

[2] Mod. Brahmins.

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In MS. Harl. 4979 Alexander and his knights are unarmed, presumably to show that he was not going to attack them, but this seems to be exceptional.

The three little heads under the arm of the sciapod at Dennington represent the Brachmani (plate III, no. 2); the carver has so disposed them because he had no other convenient space in the panel. Their association affords good evidence that he was working from a manuscript.

In the Bodleian manuscript there are certain figures illustrated which are wanting in the Westminster manuscript, namely:

1. An ape-like figure kneeling on one knee and pointing to the next figure; possibly a wild man.
2. A bearded satyr with hairy body, toed feet and horse-tail holding a club and serpent.
3. A human figure with a horn projecting from his forehead and three toes on his feet holding an object shaped like a sausage. A mask is drawn just below.
4. Another figure with a very long nose and cloven feet. This and the previous figure are naked and may be fauns. In MS. Harl. 2799 the satyr is described as 'satyrus vel faunus,' and has a long slender nose sharply bent up at the end and held in his right hand. This is the artist's rendering of 'aduncis naribus.'
5. A man with ears as large as his face. He represents the Panothii, a people so-called because their ears were so large that they shaded the whole of their body. In MS. Harl. 2799 the ears fall below the knees and fit tightly like a cloak (fig. 2). Pliny says that this is the only covering they have.[1]
6. A figure with three clawed beast's feet; uncertain.

Reference will be made to these at a later stage.

## RABANUS ON PRODIGIES.

The account given in the Westminster and Bodleian manuscripts is only part of the chapter 'de Portentis' as given in Isidore's *Etymology* and the *de Universo* of Rabanus, and by reference to the latter[2] we can account for the figures on the first page of the Westminster manuscript

[1] bk. iv, ch. 27.

[2] bk. vii, ch. vii.

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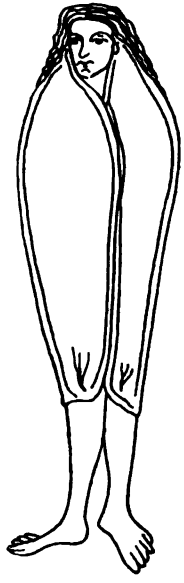
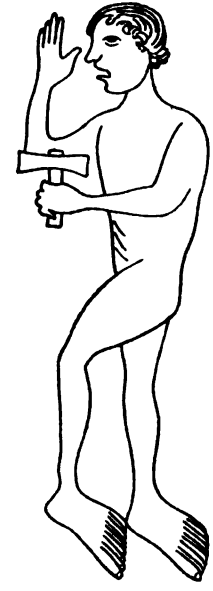


PANOTHII.

CYNOCEPHALI.



ANTIPODES.

FIG. 2. REPRESENTATIVES OF MONSTROUS RACES. MS. HARL. 2799 (B.M.).

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which are not mentioned in the texts. The chapter also tells us what is the general signification of such prodigies, but does not attach any specific symbolism to each.[1]

Rabanus commences by quoting Varro's statement that 'portenta' (wonders or prodigies) are those creatures which appear to have been born contrary to nature; but, as a theologian, he at once steps in and lays down the law that they are not unnatural, because they came into existence by the divine will, since the will of the Creator is the very essence of everything that is created. All such wonders or prodigies are expressed by the words 'portenta,' 'ostenta,' 'monstra,' or 'prodigia,' because they foretell future events, as the etymology of these words proves. This, he says, is their proper signification, but by the licence of writers it has been generally perverted. Rabanus has here borrowed from Cicero.[2]

Certain kinds of created prodigies, he continues, appear to have been constituted for predicting future events, for God is willing at times to signify future events by the form of creatures misshapen at their birth, as he also does by dreams or oracles, by which he signifies to certain nations or men future disasters, and that is proved by numerous trials. For instance the fox[3] born of a mare certainly foretold to Xerxes that his kingdom would be broken up. To Alexander likewise the monstrous offspring of a woman, the upper parts of its body the parts of a man but dead, the lower parts those of different animals but living, signified his sudden murder; for, he says, the worse elements had outlived the better. But these prodigies, which are given by way of signs, do not live long, but die directly they are born.[4]

He then points out the difference between prodigies and deformities, the former being wholly changed, as is related of a woman in Umbria who gave birth to a serpent[5]; the latter, however, only show a slight change,

[1] Text in Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. cxi, col. 195.

[2] *de Natura deorum*, lib. ii, chap. iii.

[3] Herodotus, vii, 57, a hare: see also Valerius Maximus, lib. i, ch. 6, *de Prodigiis*.

[4] In the manuscript Romances there are miniatures of Alexander holding out this monstrous child for his astronomer to see. In MS. 20 A. v and Harl. 4979 it is drawn as a child as to the upper half, and below as a wild beast having lion-like legs and tail. In MS. 19 D. i it is a diminutive centaur-like creature.

[5] Pliny, bk. vii, ch. 3.

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as the man born with six fingers. Other instances are giants, as Tityos, who when lying stretched out covered a space of nine acres; or dwarfs, or those whom the Greeks call Pygmies. Others have certain parts of abnormal size, or a misshapen head, or superfluous limbs, as men with two heads and three hands, or the Cynodontes with their two pairs of projecting teeth. Others again have limbs unequal in size, such as hands or feet, or show the complete absence of some part, as creatures born without a hand or a head; or again where a head or leg is born alone, thanks to Numeria.[1] One or two instances are then given of transformations in part only, as those who have the countenance of a lion or dog, or the head or body of a bull, as the Minotaur to which they say Pasiphae gave birth; and lastly of others, which are wholly transformed into a monstrous creation of a different kind, as the calf born of a woman.

There is another class, namely those who have the position of their organs transposed, as the eyes in the breast or on the forehead, and there is the case of a man who, Aristotle tells us, had his liver on the left side and his spleen on the right. Others have too many fingers on one hand and by some joining-up process too few on the other; and similarly with their toes.[2] Others again who through premature and untimely growth are born with teeth ready formed, or with beards or grey hair. Then there are the hermaphrodites, with the right breast of a man and left of a woman, who beget or bear children in turn. Several of such figures we have seen illustrated in the Westminster manuscript.

At this point the texts of the Westminster and other manuscripts coincide with that of Rabanus so closely that we may take them together. They begin with the statement that as in every people there are said to be abnormal men, so in the whole human race there are monstrous peoples such as giants, dog-headed men, Cyclopes, etc. The origin of giants is discussed, the alternatives being that they were reckoned by the etymology of their name to be born of the earth, because the earth in giving

[1] The goddess of quick birth.

[2] De Caumont illustrates a figure with his legs joined together.

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birth to them according to the fable produced them of immense bulk like herself; or that they were the result of the union of the sons of God and the daughters of men, as recorded in Genesis vi, 1–4. The Cynocephali or dog-headed men are then described. They are born in India, and 'their bark betrays them to be beasts rather than men.'

Pliny speaks of the Cynocephali both as apes and men. He says that they are very fierce,[1] and that there is a race of Aethiopian nomads called the Menismini, who live on their milk,[2] which hardly seems compatible. In the very same chapter he alludes to them as a tribe of men who have the heads of dogs, and clothe themselves with the skins of wild beasts. Instead of speaking they bark, and being furnished with claws, they live by hunting and catching birds. Solinus (ch. xxx) describes them as a kind of ape numerous in parts of Aethiopia, and adds that they bite savagely, take tremendous leaps, and cannot be tamed. This passed into the bestiaries, but there do not seem to be any pictures. A Cynocephalus is however illustrated in the manuscript of Mandeville and in Harl. 2799; it is treated as a man, and in the latter manuscript is tailed and is eating a small animal (fig. 2).[3] It is recognised in nature as the baboon. There is a good carving upon a bench-end at Ufford, Suffolk, where it is treated as an ape.

The Cyclopes come next, with a single eye in their foreheads: then the Blemyae; the people in the far East with the strange faces; the Panothii, with the large ears; and the Artabatitae, who walk like cattle. These have already been noticed.

The account proceeds with a description of the Satyrs, who are 'little men with hooked noses, horns on the forehead, and goats' feet, like that one which Saint Anthony saw in the desert, who having been asked by the servant of God what he was, replied: "I am a mortal, one of the

[1] bk. viii, 80 (54).

[2] bk. vii, ch. 2.

[3] In the Romance of Alexander the Cynocephali appear generally as 'les quynosofalis' or 'quynokefailli.' The text says they have 'testes samblables a cheval et dens lons et cors grant et gietant flambe parmi la bouche.' They are drawn as naked men, with heads resembling horses' rather than dogs', and large white boars' tusks (i.e. canine teeth). In MS. Harl. 4979 they are armed with clubs and the foremost is pierced by Alexander's spear.

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inhabitants of the desert, whom the pagans, obsessed by a strange delusion, worship as fauns and satyrs." '[1] Then we get a reference to wild men: 'And there are certain men of the woods (silvestres homines) spoken of, whom some people call a race of quasi-fauns.'[2] This is taken from Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, ch. xiii, 20–22. Then follows a reference to the Hippopodes, a race of Scythia who have a human figure and horses' feet,[3] and the Antipodes in Lybia, who have the soles of their feet turned behind their legs, 'and eight toes on the soles.' The question is discussed why they are so called, namely whether it is due to their feet, or whether to their supposed situation on the opposite side of the earth. The latter is regarded as a fable, and quite impossible on physical grounds. The author seems to have mixed up the description given by Pliny in bk. vii, ch. 2 (taken from Megasthenes), of a race of men who dwelt upon a mountain called Nulo and had their feet turned backward and eight toes on each foot, with the account of the 'Antipodes' in bk. ii, ch. 65. In the latter Pliny makes no mention of the eight toes, but discusses the problem generally as to whether the Antipodes exist; and says that there is a great contest between the learned and the vulgar on the point. Augustine too[4] argues the matter and treats the existence of the Antipodes as a fable, saying that it is not credible that there are men on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets to us, men who walk with their feet the opposite way to ours. Isidore takes the same view,[5] and so it passed through to our manuscripts. There is an illustration of one of them with reversed feet and nine toes in MS. Harl, 2799. He holds a short hammer (fig. 2).[6]

[1] From Jerome's *Life of Saint Paul.*

[2] 'Faunos ficarios,' literally 'fig-tree fauns.' In Andrews' *Dictionary* (1861) it is suggested that the rank growth of the fig is used by Jerome to illustrate the luxuriant habits of fauns; but we have preferred to take *ficarios* as equal to *vicarios;* the words 'faunos' or 'fatuos vicarios' might then be rendered 'quasi-fauns.'

[3] The Hippopodes, according to Pliny, inhabit some islands in the northern ocean (bk. iv, ch. 27) One of them is illustrated in MS. Harl. 2799 playing a fiddle with five strings. Women with horses' feet are illustrated in Alexander's Romance. In MS. 20 A. v and 15 E. vi they are naked; in MS. 19 D. i they are drawn as bearded men in tunics; all have horses' hoofs.

[4] *de Civitate Dei*, bk. xvi, ch. 9.

[5] *Etym.* bk. ix, ch. 2.

[6] Mr. P. M. Johnston has drawn my attention to the sculptures of human monstrosities on the doorway of the narthex of La Madeleine, Vézelay, of which sketches appeared in *The Builder* for December, 1884. Some of the figures have lost their

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The account of the sciapod follows, then the Macrobii, the Pigmies, and the Brachmani, all of whom have been dealt with. In Rabanus alone there is a curious item added about the Pigmies, to the effect that the common people call them 'septemcaulinos' or 'seven cabbage men,' because seven of them rest under a single cabbage-leaf. This may be an interpolation.

After a reference to a race of women in India, who bear children at five years of age and do not live beyond eight years, we leave the manuscripts and follow Rabanus alone, who says that we are told of other human prodigies which do not really exist, but are inventions and can be explained by natural causes. For example Geryon, the king of Spain, who is represented with three bodies. For there were three brothers of a nature so harmonious that there was in their three bodies as it were but one soul. The Gorgons too, harlots with snakes for hair, who had between them but one eye, which they used in turn. They were three sisters of a uniform beauty, single-eyed as it were, who so fascinated those who looked at them that they were thought to turn them into stones. We have already remarked on the possibility of the figure with the triple face in the Westminster manuscript being Geryon. The Gorgon sisters are illustrated in the Cambridge manuscript. The miniature shows them seated side by side holding a large eye between them. They have eyes in their heads as well.[1] One of them points to some ugly faces on the border which may perhaps represent those who are turned into stones. The remaining subjects dealt with in the chapter are the Siren, Scylla, Cerberus, Hydra, Chimaera, Minotaur and Centaur.

### RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF PRODIGIES.

Rabanus as a theologian naturally seeks to push his argument in a religious sense. He says it should be noted

heads, but among them are the Panothii, man, woman and child, with enormous ears; a man and woman with pigs' snouts; two Cynocephali, one of whom holds a sword; and other figures in pairs gesticulating and making signs with their hands, who may perhaps be the people without tongues. There is also a curious sculpture of a man about to mount a horse by means of a ladder set against it, and a group of three men in clogs conversing; they all have clubs. Nearly all these figures are clothed.

[1] The artist here perhaps had the Graeae in mind: they had but one eye between them. No doubt he mixed up two episodes in the legend of Perseus.

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that sometimes acts of the prophets are called portents when they predict something about future events, and he quotes the passage in which the Lord addresses Ezekiel as 'Son of man, I have given thee for a sign and portent to the house of Israel'[1]; and how the prophet was commanded to sleep at one time on his right side, and at another on his left, to predict the vengeance of the Lord on the people of Israel.[2] Again Isaiah was commanded to walk naked and barefoot as a sign of the devastation of the country of the Jews and the captivity of Israel.[3] The passage in Joel,[4] repeated in the Acts,[5] is also quoted in full. And then, in his rôle as moralist, he winds up to the effect that it is not necessary for us to discuss more closely the wonders which the books of the heathen narrate; but this we should surely believe, that whatsoever strange things really and truly come into existence and are described as changes from the ordinary course of nature cannot be produced without the planning and will of God, who performs and disposes all things rightly and properly, since 'the Lord is righteous in all his ways and holy in all his works.'[6]

Although no specific symbolism is attached to any of the prodigies surveyed by Rabanus, an attempt is made in the Westminster group of manuscripts to give a meaning to some of them. Giants for instance, being larger than the usual size of men, are a type of proud men who like to be especially noticed, as those who make a show as long as you praise them; as it is said of proud Saul, that he was taller by a shoulder and more than all the people. Humility however is shown in David (the pigmy) who was the least of all the brethren. The Cynocephali with heads like dogs typify detractors and quarrelsome persons. The Panothii have big ears for hearing evil. Those who cover themselves with the lower lip are those of whom it is said: 'Let the mischief of their own lips cover them.'[7] As for the remaining kinds the curious reader may write them down more fully either in black or golden letters as he pleases.

[1] Ezek. xii, 6.
[2] Ezek. iv, 4–6.
[3] Is. xx, 2–4.
[4] ii, 28–31.
[5] ii, 17–20.
[6] Ps. cxlv, 17.
[7] Ps. cxl, 9.

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. I. TRIPLE FACE: CARTMEL CHURCH.

[*G. C. D.*

NO. 2. SCIAPOD AND BRACHMANI: DENNINGTON CHURCH.

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That the early Christian theologians were exercised in mind as to the dangers of belief in these prodigies is evident from the chapter in the *de Civitate Dei* of Augustine,[1] where he discusses the question fully whether certain monstrous races of men spoken of in secular history were derived from the stock of Adam or Noah's sons. He reviews most of the prodigies which we meet again in Rabanus, and advises us that we are not bound to believe all we hear about them. 'But whoever is anywhere born a man, that is, a rational mortal animal, no matter what unusual appearance he presents in colour, movement, sound, nor how peculiar he is in some power, part, or quality of his nature, no Christian can doubt that he springs from that one protoplast. We can distinguish the common human nature from that which is peculiar, and therefore wonderful.'

Isidore was well acquainted with Augustine's writings, for in his description of the Cynocephali he uses the same words; and the very first sentence of the account in the Westminster manuscript accords with that of the second paragraph in Augustine, showing how his views had been passed down.

## USE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS BY CARVERS.

From this survey we may well understand that the carvers had abundant justification for employing these figures in ecclesiastical buildings. They no doubt made full use of the miniatures in the manuscripts as models. Many of these monstrous forms are now difficult to find, but it is to be hoped that in time more will be recognised among the enormous number of carvings in stone and wood that we have in our churches. We know that subjects from the Romance of Alexander were deemed suitable, for there are several examples of his flight into the sky on misericords.[2] The companion subject of his descent into the sea in a glass barrel is however not yet recorded. Possibly the former scene was regarded in a symbolic light denied to the latter.

[1] bk. xvi, 8.

[2] Beverley St. Mary, Chester, Darlington, Gloucester, Lincoln. The Lincoln, Chester and two Gloucester examples are illustrated in F. Bond, *Misericords* (1910), 78–80.

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### THE SATYR.

One of the human prodigies mentioned in the Westminster manuscript is the satyr. Satyrs are described as 'homunciones,' i.e. little men, with hooked noses, horns on the forehead, and goats' feet. They are very difficult to find in mediaeval church sculpture, but there is a good carving of the twelfth century on a cap in the cloisters at Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne), where it is enclosed in the foliage and bears an axe. We are disposed to think it is here intended for a human monstrosity. The renaissance brought the classical satyr into favour, and examples are numerous on late misericords in French churches, as at Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. There is a good instance in Dordrecht cathedral church, where the stalls date from about 1540; it is holding a dragon.

The only figures approximating in form to the satyr known to us in mediaeval architecture in this country are on misericords at Chichester, one at the cathedral church and the other at St. Mary's hospital. Both date from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the example at the cathedral (plate IV, no. 1) the figure has a man's bearded face with a somewhat benign expression, human arms and hands, and the body, legs, hoofed feet, and tail of a horse. The arms are raised in a very awkward manner, due to the necessity of composing the subject conveniently under the ledge; and it is holding its tail. It has no horns. The figure at St. Mary's hospital is on the same lines, but has feet with three toes instead of hoofs; it is in the attitude of holding its tail, but the latter is not visible. The identity of these creatures will be discussed shortly.

There is a good reason for the absence of the satyr as such from mediaeval architecture, for it was the model upon which the demon of the West was founded, and it is in this guise that we have it. Take for instance an illustration in the Cotton MS. Nero C. iv (B.M.) of the twelfth century.[1] It is a scene of hell-torments. The demons are of a revolting character. They have the horns, hairy bodies, and tails of the satyr; their feet

[1] Illustrated in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxvii, 302, and *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 23.

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[*P. M. Johnston, phot.*

NO. I. SATYRUS (?): CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH

[*S. Smith, phot.*

NO. 2. SATYRUS: LINCOLN MINSTER.

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are either cloven or clawed, and they have snub-noses, a fringe of hair round the face, and grinning mouths. The two principal demons are chopping a man's hands off; others are attending to a cauldron in which a party of souls is being tortured. One of them has fallen out and is being pulled back by a demon with a hook.

Such demons are numerous both in manuscripts and carving. Three of them may be seen upon a tympanum of the twelfth century now preserved in the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's museum at York, where they are engaged in securing the soul of a dying man which is escaping through his mouth (fig. 3).

FIG. 3. DEMONS ON A TYMPANUM :
FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY'S MUSEUM, YORK.

While the bodily form of the demon follows the satyr closely, there is often variety of treatment in the head. In the great painting at Chaldon church, Surrey, c. 1200 in date, there is another hell-torment scene. The three large demons there have almond-shaped eyes, ears erect, and grinning mouths with protruding tongues. They have also hoofed or clawed feet and tails.[1]

This grinning face with tongue out was not a fanciful mode of making the demon appear more repulsive, but was adopted from a classical source. It reproduces the Gorgon's head, or more particularly the head of Medusa. Such heads are common in classical art on shields, coins, etc. and a variety may be seen on antefixes or roof-tiles

[1] Illustrated in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxvi, 325 and *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 1.

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in the British Museum.[1] They have the features before mentioned: the wide mouth, projecting tongue and hair round the face. Some have fangs, and a minor feature which should be noted is the mark down the middle of the tongue. There was every reason for the adoption of the Gorgon head, for Medusa was one of the inhabitants of Hades. The terrible nature of her appearance is a common theme with the Greek poets, and it was the object of the mediaeval artist to make his demons as terrifying as possible. The masks worn by men at the Bacchanalian festivals

[S. Smith, phot.

FIG. 4. HEAD OF DEMON: LINCOLN MINSTER.

were on the same lines, as may be seen on gems.[2] They were dressed to represent satyrs, and had the same grinning mouth, protruding tongue, and horns on the head.

These demon faces are common on misericords and bosses, for which they were suitable as compositions. For instance, upon a misericord at Minster in Thanet both the wing subjects are demon faces of the Medusa type, with ears and fringe, wide mouth and mark upon the tongue.[3] An excellent example may be seen on a boss in the cloisters at Lincoln minster (fig. 4). The demon

[1] Illustrated in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 21.

[2] King, *Antique gems and rings*, pl. xxxi.

[3] Illustrated in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 21.

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face is quite typical, and very expressive. There are others at Southwark cathedral church, on bosses piled up in the north transept.[1] On one of them the Medusa type is faithfully portrayed; on another the subject is treated in satirical fashion, for in place of the protruding tongue the artist has represented the skirt and boots of a woman whom the demon is swallowing. The details correspond closely with the two twelfth-century carvings of St. Margaret at Bretforton in Worcestershire and Cotham in Yorkshire, where she is swallowed by a dragon.

Having considered the development of the demon of the West out of the satyr from the point of view of art, we may now see how far it is supported by documentary evidence. Clement of Alexandria[2] alludes to the dramas and poets as intoxicated in Bacchic fashion, and couples them with 'satyrs and the frenzied rabble and the rest of the demon crew.' Jerome associates satyrs and fauns with demons in his commentary on Isaiah, xiii, 21, and xxxiv, 14, in which the prophet predicts the desolation of Babylon. Various creatures frequent the ruins, among them those called 'pilosi.' The passages run: 'Et pilosi saltabunt ibi' (and hairy creatures shall dance there) and 'Et pilosus clamabit alter ad alterum' (and the hairy creature shall call to his fellow). The words 'sa'îr,' 'seîrîm,' in the Hebrew are usual for buck-goats, but are used in Lev. xvii, 7, and 2 Chron. xi, 15, for demon-gods of a semi-human semi-goat form, i.e. the form of a satyr. These gods would be known to the Israelites from their sojourn in Egypt. Jerome comments on the rendering of the first passage by the Septuagint and other translators, and says: 'Hairy creatures shall dance there,' they understand them to be either spirits, or satyrs, or certain men of the woods (silvestres homines) whom some people call quasi-fauns,[3] or kinds of demons. Gregory in his Moralia also discusses the nature of the 'pilosi' thus:

[1] Illustrated in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 21.

[2] *Exhortation to the heathen*, ch. i.

[3] This we have seen repeated in the Westminster manuscript. Jerome also associates satyrs with demons in his account of the meeting of St. Anthony with the satyr in the desert. The latter told Anthony that he and his companions were worshipped as fauns, satyrs, and spirits, whereupon the saint turned toward the city of Alexandria and exclaimed: 'Woe to thee, Alexandria, who worshippest wonders (portenta) instead of God; woe to thee, thou impure city, in which the demons of the whole world are gathered together.'

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'Now demons consort with onocentaurs, because malignant spirits are most zealously and willingly devoted to those whom they observe to rejoice over those things which they ought to lament. And so it is suitably added: "And the hairy creature calls to his fellow." For what others are indicated by the name "pilosi" than those creatures which the Greeks call "panas" (fauns) and the Latins "incubos," for their form certainly commences with the human figure, but ends in the lower limbs of a beast.'[1]

FIG. 5. APES AS SATYRS: MS. HARL. 3244 (B.M.)

### THE SATYRUS.

The two figures at Chichester, although resembling satyrs, are certainly not intended for demons. There is nothing repulsive about them. They may either

[1] The onocentaur will be described further on. Delitzsch points out the difficulty of defining the animals in these chapters and says: 'As Rich heard in Bagdad, the ruins are still regarded as a rendezvous for ghosts: *sair*, when contrasted with *attud*, signifies the full-grown shaggy buck-goat; but here *seîrîm* is applied to demons in the shape of goats (as in chap. xxxiv, 14). According to the scriptures, the desert is the abode of unclean spirits, and such unclean spirits as the popular belief or mythology pictured to itself were *seîrîm*. Virgil, like Isaiah, calls them *saltantes satyros*.' And again: 'But the satyrs and the lilith, which were only the offspring of the popular belief, what of them? They too would be there; for in the sense intended by the prophet they were actual devils, which he merely calls by well-known popular names to produce a spectral impression.' (Clark's *Theological Library*, 4th series, vol. xiv, 304, and vol. xv, 73.)

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[*G. C. D.*

NO. I. GREAT APE (?) : WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

NO. 2. SAGITTARIUS AND SAVAGE MAN : WEST ROUNTON CHURCH.

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represent the satyr or faun as a human monstrosity, following the manuscripts, or there is another alternative: they may be apes. This might appear somewhat far-fetched were it not that there is a great ape recorded by classical writers called the 'satyrus.' Pliny, Solinus, and Aelian all tell us about it, and it is also described and illustrated in the bestiaries immediately after the 'simiae,' or common apes. It was called the satyrus because of its supposed likeness in appearance and habits to the classical satyr. As the artists had no other description and did not know what it was like, they drew it as a satyr, in fact so much the same that it is impossible to tell which is which. Thus we see them appearing in the bestiaries as naked bearded men with horns, human or goat legs and feet, and horse tail, holding various objects such as a knobbed staff, suggestive of the thyrsus,[1] a branch,[2] a serpent,[3] a wine cup,[4] axe and shield,[5] or drinking from a cup.[6] MS. Harl. 3244 (B.M.) affords a typical illustration (fig. 5). The heading in this manuscript runs: 'de satiris monstruosis,' showing that the scribe had the satyr in mind. The text is taken from Solinus,[7] where he describes several apes: 'And there are those which they call satyrs, with faces after a manner pleasing, but in gesture and movement restless.' Pliny[8] says: 'In the mountainous districts of the eastern parts of India, in what is called the country of the Catharcludi, we find the satyr, an animal of extraordinary swiftness. These go sometimes on four feet and sometimes walk erect; they have also the features of a human being. On account of their swiftness they are never to be caught except when they are either old or sickly.' Also, that it is very fierce,[9] and again that it stows away food in the pouches of its cheeks, and takes it out piece by piece and eats it.[10] In other passages

[1] MS. Add. 11283 and Harl. 4751 (B.M.); Ashmole, 1511 and Douce, 151 (Bodl.); MS. 61, St. John's Coll. Oxford.

[2] MS. 12 C. xix (B.M.).

[3] Harl. 3244 (B.M.); MS. 178, St. John's Coll.

[4] MS. Bodl. 764.

[5] MS. Harl. 3244.

[6] MS. Harl. 4751. There is a curious illustration in MS. Sloane, 3544 (B.M.). The scribe made a mistake and wrote *equos* instead of *et quos*. The artist was puzzled at this reference to horses, as it did not fit in with his preconceived ideas of satyrs, so he compromised and produced an animal more or less like a horse in motion, with a pair of long horns and the cloven feet of the satyr.

[7] *Polyhistor*, ch. xxx, *de Africa*.

[8] bk. vii, ch. 2.

[9] bk. viii, 80 (54).

[10] bk. x, 93 (72).

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he alludes to 'men born with long hairy tails and of remarkable swiftness of foot,'[1] which presumably refers to them, and speaks of 'a people in Aethiopia called the Satyri, who beyond their figure have nothing in common with the human race.'[2] Aelian[3] gives an interesting account of their habits: 'When you have crossed the farthest mountains of India, you come to a place of deep valleys, where live animals having the appearance and form of satyrs, with bodies all hairy, and said to be furnished with tails like horses. When they are undisturbed by hunters, they live in the thickets and woods and feed on leaves and fruit; but when they hear the sound of the hunters and barking of the dogs, they run up to the tops of the hills with incredible swiftness, and fight those who follow them by rolling down rocks upon them, by which means many persons have been caught and killed. So they are captured with difficulty, only those being taken which are sick or heavy with young.'

There is a remarkable carving of this creature in a panel of the stalls at Lincoln minster, of late fourteenth-century date, which displays some of the details illustrated in the bestiaries combined with natural features (plate IV, no. 2). It is holding its tail exactly as the figure in Chichester cathedral church. Its form and attitude are sufficiently like a natural ape of the orang-utan class to suggest that the carver had seen one. Yet he was evidently influenced by conventional treatment, for he has given it a wonderful pair of horns, which must have been borrowed from a sheep. In view of the fact that this ape holds its tail it seems likely that the two figures at Chichester are intended for apes.[4]

The satyrus is generally recognised as the orang-utan. In the Malayan language 'orang-utan' means 'wild man of the woods,' and we would venture the opinion that all the creatures known to the ancients as satyrs, fauns, and wild men were originally anthropoid apes of some kind.

[1] bk. vii, ch. 2.

[2] bk. v, ch. 8.

[3] bk. xvi, ch. 21.

[4] At St. Nicholas, King's Lynn, there are four fine poppy-heads enclosing circular panels, in one of which is a bearded and tailed satyr-like ape seated holding a pig on its back by its hind legs. A club lies across its knees.

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Apes are common in church carving, and are as a rule naturally drawn. Their form was well known, as they were kept as pets. A great ape was, however, probably a rare visitor. There is a carving upon a misericord in Winchester cathedral church, c. 1300 in date (plate v, no. 1), and others at Edlesborough (Bucks.) and Saint-Marcel, near Argenton-sur-Creuse (Indre), about two hundred years later, which may represent anthropoid apes. An alternative is that they are wild men.[1]

## THE SAVAGE MAN.

We may now pass on to consider the 'homo silvestris' or wild man of the woods, of whom there are many carvings in churches. References in classical authors are few and vague in character. Herodotus[2] says that in the western parts of Libya 'there are enormous serpents, and lions, and monsters with dogs' heads, and without heads, who have eyes in their breasts, at least as the Libyans say, and wild men and wild women (*οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι*), and many other wild beasts (which are) not fabulous.'

Pliny[3] speaks of 'silvestres homines' in a country called Abarimon situate in a certain great valley of mount Imaus,[4] with feet turned backward relatively to their legs, and of wonderful velocity. They wander about indiscriminately with the wild beasts. Also in the same chapter, of a nation called the Choromandae which dwell in the woods, that have no proper voice, but screech horribly. Their bodies are covered with hair, their eyes are sea-green, and their teeth are those of a dog. As this follows immediately after an account of the satyr, which

[1] In two manuscripts, Harl. 4751 and Bool. 764, the 'callitriches,' or fine-haired apes, are illustrated in the same panel with the satyrus. Solinus gives a description of them immediately following that of the satyrus, and this is repeated in the bestiaries. The text says that the 'callitriches' are altogether different in appearance; that they have a beard, a bushy tail, and are easy to catch, but difficult to rear; and they cannot live anywhere but in Aethiopia, their native place. The artists have drawn them with a mane of fine hair reaching half-way down the body and with an animal rather than a human face; otherwise they resemble the satyrs. One of these apes appears upon the same bench-end at Ufford church as the cynocephalus, and has a mane of fine hair.

[2] bk. iv, 191.

[3] bk. vii, ch. 2.

[4] The Himalayas.

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he calls an animal, it must refer to the Cynocephali, or baboons. There is little doubt that all the above creatures described by Pliny are apes.[1] Later on we have Jerome's opinion that 'silvestres homines' were held to be a kind of faun. Mandeville's description is clearly taken from classical sources and is based on the satyr or faun: 'In that desert (of India) there be many wild men, that be hideous to look upon; for they be horned and speak nought, but they grunt as pigs.'

Despite this association with the satyr or faun, it is certain that the 'homo silvestris' did not follow them in being converted into a demon in ecclesiastical art. In both manuscripts and carvings he bears no resemblance to a demon, but remains a man. This is probably due to the fact that he is not represented in classical art as the satyr is, so far as we know. The nearest approach that we have been able to find is a so-called 'Panno-seilenos' on a lamp of the first century A.D. (B.M.), who appears as a hairy human figure holding a long knobbed staff.

There are two sources from which we get news and illustrations of the savage man in the middle ages, namely from a French bestiary[2] in the Arsenal library, Paris, and manuscripts of Alexander's Romance, both dating from about 1300. In the former he appears as a quite virtuous character, and fights with a centaur. The story is entitled, 'Del sagittaire et del salvage home,' and runs as follows:

The Natural Philosopher tells us that in one part of the deserts of India there is a race of men who have a horn upon their foreheads and who are savage men. These people make war continually against the Sagittarii, and the Sagittarii against them. These people stay in the tops of the trees of their own will, on account of the wild animals, of which there is 'a great plenty' about them: serpents and dragons, and griffins, and bears, and lions, and all other kinds of vermin. The savage man is quite naked, unless he has at some time or other fought with a lion and killed it, and has clothed himself with the skin of the lion.

The Natural Philosopher says that the Christian man is typified by the Sagittarius, and the soul is typified by the savage man. For the soul makes war always against the body and the body against it. They are always in opposition the one to the other. The soul wishes to be mistress of the body, and the body wishes to be master of the soul, because it is

[1] Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 391, uses the words 'silvestres homines' in its classical sense to indicate uncivilised men or foresters.

[2] MS. 3516.

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desirous of the pleasures of the world. What the savage man's flight to the trees for fear of the beasts signifies is the soul which is always peaceable and always shrinks from war, and cries to and loves its creator. As to the savage man fighting with the lion and killing it, and clothing himself with the skin of the lion, this signifies that the soul fights so hard against its body that it conquers it, and that it kills its body and destroys all the vanities and the delights that it is wont to love in the world. So the soul escapes from the hands of its enemy by the grace that God has given it, just as the savage man conquers the lion by grace, and by his courage, and by the endurance with which God has endowed him.

And thou, O man, who livest in sin, despise the world, make confession to the priest, do penance; and believe that God is so merciful that he

FIG. 6. SAGITTARIUS AND SAVAGE MAN: MS. 3516 ARSENAL LIBRARY, PARIS.

receives all those who pray to him for mercy from a good heart and with true repentance and fills them with everlasting joy. He delivers them from their adversaries who seek to destroy them, as he delivers the savage man from the lion.

The miniature shows the savage man with a large horn upon his forehead and clothed in a lion's skin, attacking a centaur with a spear. The centaur shoots an arrow at him; hence his name 'Sagittarius' (fig. 6).

This story occurs in no other existing bestiary that we are acquainted with, but must have been based on one of the earlier Latin or Greek versions, as 'Physiologus' is quoted. The details suggest that the savage man was

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derived from the accounts of wild men given in the classical writers already mentioned. He lives in the trees in India, and is associated with wild beasts. His horn is presumably that of the faun and his figure copied from a monstrosity illustrated in a manuscript of the Westminster class. For reasons that will be given presently, it is likely that the centaur here is an ass-centaur and not a horse-centaur.

The scene is represented on the twelfth-century font at West Rounton, Yorkshire, but the composition is crude. The savage man is indicated merely by a bearded head and shoulders, and he holds the bow of the centaur, who points his arrow at him (plate v, no. 2).

FIG. 7. HERCULES AND LION: FROM A LAMP.
From Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, p. 308, ed. 1858.

It is difficult to understand the character of the savage man in this story. He is altogether the opposite of his dissolute confrère, the satyr. It is possible that the author, anxious to find a suitable character to champion the spiritual element in man, was attracted by the primitive nature and habits of the 'homo silvestris,' whether man or ape, and adopted him for his purpose. There are, however, elements in the story which are deserving of notice. The first part is devoted to the savage man's fight with the centaur, the remainder to his fight with the lion. When he has killed the lion, he wears its skin. In both respects we have a close analogy with exploits of

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Hercules. He is represented as naked; he fought with the centaurs who were dissolute creatures, and with other monsters or animals, including a lion, and wore its skin. The latter scene appears on lamps and vases. In the illustration from a lamp here reproduced (fig. 7) Hercules has thrown away his club, which is behind him, and is strangling the lion. He has got its head under his right arm, while the lion is clawing his leg. These details are mentioned because in the crypt at Canterbury cathedral church there is a twelfth-century capital which shows the same features (fig. 8). A naked man is fighting a lion.

FIG. 8. SAVAGE MAN (?) AND LION: CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

The head of the lion is under his right arm, and its paw rests on his leg as before, but its tail is differently composed in order to fill the space on the capital. In place of the club the man has a large tail, the foliated end of which is carried up to balance the end of the lion's tail. The question is, whom does this figure represent? Although it is clearly an adaptation from one of the labours of Hercules, it cannot be intended for him, for he is not directly represented in mediaeval Christian art, so far as we know, and he has no tail, although on some of the Greek vases the tail of his lion's skin hangs in such a way

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that it might well be his. The alternatives are that it is either a satyr, ape, or wild man. We know of no instance of a satyr fighting with a lion in church carving, and, as we have seen, the satyr became a demon. Nor can we recall any instance of a great ape fighting with a lion. The savage or wild man is left, but why should he have a tail? The carver perhaps had in mind Pliny's descriptions, and the association of the wild man with the satyrs and fauns, and so gave him a tail; it gave him too the advantage of balancing his composition. If this carving is any guide, it gives colour to the view that the author of the story in the bestiary had Hercules in mind. It might perhaps explain the virtuous character of the savage man, as Hercules was regarded by the Greeks as a hero and a type of manly endurance.

There are other carvings of men fighting with animals which might bear the same signification, as the savage man had so many and varied enemies, but it is difficult to be sure about them. On the twelfth-century font at Darenth, Kent, a nearly naked bearded man armed with a club is seizing a winged dragon. The early misericords at Exeter, Wells, and Chichester do not provide examples, but upon one at Winchester there is a pair of naked men seated in oak foliage with a lion between them. On a later misericord in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster a naked bearded man is contending with a bear, and at Faversham, upon a misericord of the fifteenth century, a naked man armed with a spear and an enormous shield hung by a thong round his neck is fighting a griffin. This shield is worthy of notice: it is composed of a wooden frame covered with hides, and has a large central boss.

### THE SAVAGE MAN IN THE ROMANCE OF ALEXANDER.

In addition to the Arsenal bestiary the French versions of Alexander's Romance provide a description and illustrations of the savage man. He is burnt for being a person of no understanding and like a beast. The heading in MS. Harl. 4979 runs thus: 'Coment Alixandres trouva un home sauvage et le fist ardoir pour ce que il navoit point dentendement mais estoit ansi comme une

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[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. I. SAVAGE MAN AND DRAGON: CARLISLE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. SAVAGE MAN AND GIRL: WHALLEY CHURCH.

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beste.' He is drawn as an immense naked bearded hairy man lying bound to a stake in a fire. An attendant in a tunic is holding him down with a pronged fork, and Alexander and his party of knights look on. In MS. 19 D. i he resembles a hairy ape, and stands in a large fire with hands crossed as if bound. In MS. 20 A. v he is dressed in a tunic, and in no way differs from the attendant who holds him down in the fire; this is due to the artist drawing his figures to a type. In MS. 15 E. vi, of the fifteenth century, he is naked and bearded, but not hairy, and is seated bound to a post in a fire, which is stoked by a man. There is no suggestion in any of the illustrations that he is like a demon.

### CHANGE IN TREATMENT OF THE SAVAGE MAN.

So far we have seen the savage man represented in manuscripts and carving as a naked and generally a hairy individual, apparently akin in his origin to the satyr and faun. During the first half of the fourteenth century a change in his appearance took place. He suddenly becomes conventionalised, we may say almost standardised in appearance, and blossoms out into great prominence under his English name of 'wodewose.' Instead of being naked or covered with rough hair, he appears as if clothed in tightly-fitting sheep-skins, and generally bears a knotted branch or club. His earlier form has been noted in the Arsenal bestiary and Romance of Alexander of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it is also seen in queen Mary's Psalter,[1] of about the same date, where a savage or wild man is being worried by three dogs. He is naked and bearded, and covered with rough hair. On the other hand, in Roy. MS. 10 E. iv (B.M.) a book of Decretals of Gregory IX, also early in the fourteenth century, there are many illustrations of savage or wild men and women as characters in stories, which are all of the later or 'wodewose' type. The time of the change may thus be narrowed down. In MS. 20 B. xx, a fifteenth-century version of Alexander's Romance, in the episode where the savage man is burnt

[1] Roy. MS. 2 B. vii.

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and where there can be no question of his identity, he is twice drawn according to the new type, but in 15 E. vi, another manuscript of the Romance of similar date, the old type is retained.[1]

Examples of the savage man or 'wodewose' are numerous, on fonts, corbels, misericords and benches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He is usually associated with animals, either fighting or controlling them. At Carlisle he is rending a dragon's mouth with both hands and so has no club (plate VI, no. 1); at Lincoln and Boston he fights a lion or griffin and also rides on a chained lion; at Chester a pair of them are astride dragons[2]; at Norwich he holds a pair of lions as it were in leash (plate VII, no. 1); at Ripon he stands in a wood knocking down acorns. These are on misericords. At Burwell, Cambridgeshire, on the wooden cornice of the south aisle he is leading an antelope by a rope. In stone carving, upon a corbel at Tring, his body is partly wreathed and he has a club. In the fifteenth-century churches of the eastern counties he appears in the spandrils of porches, as at Badingham, Parham, Yaxley, Swefling, and Cratfield, the last named being particularly good. The savage man armed with branch or club, in one spandril, faces his opponent, generally a dragon, in the other. In the same districts savage men, alternating with lions, serve as supporters or buttresses to the stems of fifteenth-century octagonal fonts as at Framlingham, Wymondham, Orford, Saxmundham, and Halesworth; at the last named he is bearded and wreathed, and holds a club and small buckler (plate VII, no. 2).[3]

There are a few instances in carving where the 'wodewose' occurs otherwise than associated with animals, but his treatment is the same. In Chester cathedral church upon a misericord there are three of them, apparently in a jovial frame of mind. One is seated upon an unfortunate wight, on whom he is playing a practical joke.

[1] It has been suggested that the 'wodewose' is a different person altogether from the 'savage man,' but we can see no ground for such a view. See a paper by H. D. Ellis on 'The Wodewose in East-Anglian church decoration,' *Journ. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1912.

[2] Illustrated by Bond, *Misericords*, 15.

[3] There is a font of this type at Staple, Kent; and a modern version at Hillingdon, Middlesex, with both savage men and women on the stem.

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NO. 2. SAVAGE MEN AND LIONS: HALESWORTH CHURCH.

[*G. C. D.*

NO. 1. SAVAGE MAN AND LIONS: NORWICH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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At Whalley, Lancashire, the 'wodewose' faces a girl who holds a scroll bearing the legend in Norman French: 'Pensez molte, parlez pou' (plate VI, no. 2). Whether such carvings can be held to show that the wild man of the woods was regarded as a real person, that he waylaid passers by and had dealings with ordinary folk, is difficult to say. It is quite likely that there were solitary dwellers in the forests, and that they were regarded with some degree of awe.

The question arises, what was the cause of this outburst of popularity and change in treatment of the savage man. Upon these points we have no definite evidence to offer. Possible explanations may be either foreign or legendary influence, or use in heraldry. The savage man was an international personage. He appears in painting, c. 1380, in the hall of the Alhambra; on German tapestries; and on caskets. The scenes usually show him attempting to carry off a lady, who is saved by a knight. On the Levesque casket a party of wild men attack ladies in a castle and knights come to the rescue.[1]

The savage man is a character in numerous legends. In the story of Grisandole Merlin the enchanter poses as a stag with a white foot and as a savage man, who interprets the incomprehensible dream of Julius Caesar.[2] In Roy. MS. 10 E. iv and the Taymouth Horae,[3] where several stories are illustrated, there are many figures of savage men and women of the later type, but nothing to throw light on their development.

The influence of heraldry might be expected to count for much, for instance, if the device had been adopted as a badge by some prominent person such as royalty, as was the case with the heraldic antelope. 'Wodewoses' are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of Edward III in 1348 as having been used by him as an ornament:

> For making three harnesses for the king, two of which were of white velvet, worked with blue garters, and diapered throughout with wodewoses, and the third of cerulean velvet, with lapkin cuissages and hose worked with garters.
>
> For making 'vizards,' twelve of which were men's heads having above

[1] Communicated by Mr. Roger L. Loomis.

[2] See L. A. Paton, *The story of Grisandole*, publications of the Modern Language Association of America, xxii, 2.

[3] MS. 57, Yates Thompson Collection.

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them a lion's head, twelve of men's heads surmounted by elephants' heads, twelve of men's heads with bats' wings, twelve of heads of wodewoses, seventeen of virgins' heads, . . . for the king's plays at Otford at Christmas (1348).[1]

If the device had been systematically used by the king as a badge, we should expect it to appear in carving on some building with which he was specially connected, in the way that the antelope appears on the vaulting of Henry V's chapel at Westminster.[2] The savage man became very popular as a supporter for armorial shields,[3] and we find him at the feet of effigies, as at Aldbury (Herts.) on the tomb of Sir Robert Whitingham, who was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471.

The savage man seems subsequently to have become a popular celebrity, like Robin Hood or Gog and Magog, and appeared in pageants and shows. In a beautiful manuscript of Froissart in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 4380) there is a miniature of four men dressed as savages or wild men of the later type dancing or posturing before the ladies of the court. Their clubs lie on the ground. In Gascoigne's 'Princely Pleasures' and Laneham's Letter we read that when the earl of Leicester entertained queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth castle in 1575, on her return one day from hunting there came out of the woods an 'hombre salvagio,' all covered with moss and ivy and bearing an oaken plant plucked up by the roots, 'who for parsonage, gesture, and vtterauns beside, coountenaunst the matter too very good liking.' He made a speech, and after alluding to reports of many strange things of which he was ignorant, he called upon 'his familiarz & companionz, the fawnz, satyres,[4] nymphs, dryardes, and hamadryades,' who did not however answer; so in his 'vtter grief and extreem refuge' he called upon his old friend Echo 'that he wist would hyde nothing from him, but tell him all if she wear heer.' After such diversions he broke his tree asunder and cast away the

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxxi, 41, 43, 122. We are indebted to Sir William St. J. Hope for these references.

[2] There is no surviving instance of the wodewose at St. Katnarine's chapel, Regent's Park, where portraits of Edward III and Philippa are carved upon the stalls.

[3] At Mortain in Normandy upon a misericord, a pair of them are supporting a shield charged with a lion's head.

[4] The connexion between the wodewose and satyr is observed by Caxton in his *Fables of Avian*, xxii (1484), in the passage: 'The wodewose or satyre ledde the pylgrym in to his pytte.'

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top in such a way that it nearly fell on the head of the queen's horse, which became restive and caused the company an anxious moment. Savages or 'green men' are recorded as taking part in the lord mayor's show in the eighteenth century, and letting off fireworks to keep the people back.[1]

## THE SIREN AND THE CENTAUR.

There are two subjects remaining to be dealt with, the siren and the centaur. They occur freely in church architecture. Both are human composites, and are thus included among the prodigies in the chapter 'de Portentis' of Rabanus. They go hand in hand in the bestiaries as symbolic subjects owing to the author having made use of the Septuagint version of Isaiah, xiii, 21–22, and xxxiv, 11–14, where they are associated in the passages in which the prophet predicts the desolation of Babylon.[2]

## THE BIRD-SIREN.

Jerome in his commentary discusses the nature of the 'sirenae' in Isaiah thus: 'The sirens which are called in the Hebrew Thennim we understand to be either demons, or a kind of monster, or at least great dragons which are crested and fly; by all of these creatures the signs of devastation and solitude are indicated.'[3] He does not apparently refer here to the classical siren. Possibly he had in mind certain serpents with a similar name, said to exist in Arabia. These 'syrenae' are described and illustrated in the Latin bestiaries. They are drawn as winged dragons and sometimes have horns, as in MSS. 12 C. xix and Sloane 3544 (B.M.).

Jerome's definition of sirens was not adopted by the

[1] About 1762: see *New English Dictionary*, under 'savage.'

[2] The siren and centaur are associated in the Greek bestiary, described and illustrated by J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, 1899.

[3] *Commentary on Isaiah*, lib. v, ch. xiv.

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later commentators, such as Isidore and Rabanus. They took for granted that the 'sirenes' of the Vulgate were the creatures inhabiting the sea with which they were familiar in classical art, and the bestiary-writers followed them.

The texts of the early Latin bestiaries, represented by MS. 10074 of the tenth century at Brussels, commence with the quotation from Isaiah thus:

Isaiah the prophet says: 'Sirens and demons shall dance in Babylon,[1] and hedgehogs and onocentaurs shall dwell in their houses.' The Natural Philosopher discourses on the nature of each. The sirens, he says, are death-dealing animals which from the head down to the waist have a human form[2] but the lower parts to the feet have the form of birds. And they sing a certain musical and most sweetly melodious song; so that by the charm of their voice they enchant the ears of men who are sailing a long way off, and draw them to them, and seduce their ears and senses by the extraordinary rhythm and sweetness (of their song) and lull them to sleep. Then at length when they see them sunk in a deep sleep, they suddenly attack them and tear their flesh in pieces, and thus by the influence of their voice they deceive ignorant and careless men and do them to death.

Thus then are deceived those who find their enjoyments in the delights and pomps (of this world) and in theatres and other pleasures, that is, who are enervated with the comedies and tragedies and different kinds of musical tunes; and as though in a deep sleep, lose all the vigour of their minds; and suddenly become a prey to the power of their most greedy adversaries.

The part which follows about the onocentaur will be given presently. In the miniature accompanying this account the three sirens are drawn in semi-bird form (plate VIII, no. 1). Two of them are tearing the unfortunate sailor to pieces with their claw-like fingers, while the third plays a musical instrument resembling a citole. There are two legends above: 'Ubi syrene musica sonant ad decipiendos homines,' and: 'Ubi dilaniant eos jam mortuos.'

The sirens of the bestiary were of course derived from a classical source, the story of Ulysses. On the well-known vase at the British Museum they are in the form of birds.[3] There is little to be learnt about their appearance from

[1] *babylone*, but MS. 233 at Berne reads *habitatione*.

[2] *hominis* = a human being, but practically all versions say 'of a woman.'

[3] For an account of the siren in Greek art, see article by Miss Jane Harrison, 'The Myth of Odysseus and the Sirens,' in *The Magazine of Art*, Feb. 1887.

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NO. I. BIRD-SIRENS : MS. 10074, BIBL. ROY. BRUSSELS.

NO. 2. BIRD AND FISH SIRENS : MS. 3516, ARSENAL LIBRARY, PARIS.

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classical writers, most of the references being to their place of abode, but Ovid[1] describes them as 'having feathers and the feet of birds and faces of maidens.' Pliny[2] includes them with the fabulous birds and has but little to say in their favour: 'Nor yet do the sirens obtain any greater credit with me, although Dinon, the father of Clearchus, asserts that they exist in India and that they charm men by their song; and having first lulled them to sleep, tear them to pieces.'

The symbolism of the siren from the Christian point of view is clearly expressed by Clement of Alexandria,[3] who says:

> Let us avoid custom as we would a dangerous headland, or the threatening Charybdis, or the mythical sirens. . . . Urge the ship beyond that smoke and billow.[4] . . . Let us shun, fellow mariners, let us shun this billow; it vomits forth fire; it is a wicked island, heaped with bones and corpses, and in it sings a fair courtesan, Pleasure, delighting with music for the common ear. . . . Let not a woman with flowing train cheat you of your senses. . . . Sail past the song; it works death; exert your will, and you have overcome ruin; bound to the wood of the Cross, you shall be freed from destruction. The Word of God will be your pilot, and the Holy Spirit will bring you to anchor in the haven of heaven.[5]

In the early twelfth-century bestiary of Philip de Thaun,[6] the siren is described as having the form of a woman down to the waist, the feet of a falcon, and the tail of a fish. In this version sirens symbolise the riches of the world, and the evils which arise out of them:

> Seraines ki sunt richeises sunt del mund;
> La mer mustre cest mund, la nef gent ki i sunt,
> E laneme est notuner, e la nef cors que dait nager;
> Sacez maintes faiez funt li riche ki sunt el mund
> Lanme el cors pecher, . . .

The metrical version of Guillaume made in the thirteenth century says that the siren has a very strange shape: 'For from the waist upwards it is the most beautiful thing in the world, formed in the guise of a woman; and

[1] *Met.* v, 552.
[2] bk. x, ch. 70 (49).
[3] *Exhortation to the Heathen*, ch. xii.
[4] *Odys.* xii, 226.
[5] *Ante-Nicene lib.* vol. iv, p. 106.
[6] Cotton MS. Nero A. v (B.M.).

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the other parts are shaped like a fish and like a bird.' The sirens are a type of the delights of the world, 'luxury, gluttony, drunkenness, women and sleek horses, and rich clothes,' to which we are inclined. 'There is however many a mariner who knows how to keep guard and watch when he goes sailing on the sea; he stops up his ears, so that he does not hear the siren's song. Just the same should the wise man do, who passes through the world; he should keep himself chaste, and his ears and eyes from hearing and seeing anything that may bring him into sin.'

In the thirteenth-century poem of Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du monde*, the siren is described thus: 'Others there are with heads and bodies of maidens as far as the breasts, below as fish, and with the wings of birds; and their song is very sweet and beautiful.'

There are a few instances in manuscripts of sirens in this triple form. In MS. Kk. 4-25 in the university library, Cambridge, one of the three has bird's wings and feet, and a fish tail. In MS. Douce 88 (first bestiary) the siren has large bird's wings and claws, but the feathered lower body and tail resemble the hind part of a fish.[1] In Harl. 3244, and other manuscripts, although in fish form, she has wings.

There are many illustrations of the bird-siren in the bestiaries. In MS. Bodl. 602 there are three. One of them has webbed feet and holds up her hands; the other two play triple pipes and harp. In MS. Douce 88 there are two miniatures. The first shows four men in a boat; one man is rowing and two of the others point to three sirens of semi-bird form floating in the water. These hold out their hands and are evidently singing. In the second they hold up their hands and play double pipes and harp. This gesture of holding up the hands may be a signal to the sailors. In MS. 1444 Français (Bibl. Nat. Paris), Guillaume's version, there are two men in the ship and two sirens in bird form. One raises her pipe or horn as if to strike the ship, the other plays a harp. In the Bestiaire d'Amour in the same manuscript there are three scenes. In the third there are

[1] Bird-sirens with tails approximating to those of fish may be seen on vases in the second vase-room at the British Museum.

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[F. H. Crossley, phot.

NO. I. BIRD AND FISH SIREN : CARLISLE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

[G. C. D.

NO. 2. SIRENS : EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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three men rowing, and at either end of the ship a siren is hitting a man on the head with her horn.

Examples of the triple form, or in fact of any bird form of siren, are very scarce in carving. We can only recall two instances in this country, namely at Carlisle and All Saints', Hereford, both on misericords. In the Carlisle example (plate IX, no. 1) the siren has the feathered body and feet of a bird and the tail of a fish. Her right hand is broken off, but it probably held a comb as she has a mirror in her left. At Hereford there are two, each of whom holds a (?) stick. They also have feathered bodies, birds' feet, and fish tails, but their tails appear to be covered with feathers rather than scales. In carving, tips of feathers and scales are often much alike.

There is an exceptional detail in MS. Douce 132 (Bodl.) and MS. 178 (St. John's College, Oxford,) where the siren grasps a dragon. In each case she is in bird form, and in the first has human feet. The dragon's head appears over her left shoulder, its body and twisted tail falling behind. The origin of this feature is unknown to us, but it is presumably based on a classical model.[1]

In a few miniatures the sirens are mixed. In queen Mary's Psalter there are two scenes: in the first there are two sirens, one of whom is in bird form and holds up her hands, and the other is in fish form and holds a mirror. The ship appears with four men in it, two of whom are overcome with sleep. In the second scene the sirens bend over the side of the ship and seize the sleeping men.

In the French prose bestiary in the Arsenal library, Paris, there are three sirens, one in bird form and flying, the other two in the water (plate VIII, no. 2). The form of the latter is not very clear, but they are probably intended to be semi-fish. The first blows a horn, the second plays a harp, and the third sings. The text of this manuscript commences with the same quotation from Isaiah, and then says that there are three kinds of sirens, of whom two are partly woman partly fish, and the third partly woman partly

[1] At Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, upon a sixteenth-century misericord the siren holds a serpent.

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bird; and they all three sing, les unes en buisines[1] et les autres en harpes et les autres en droite vois.' The account does not differ materially from the Latin manuscripts, but the phraseology is varied. The melody of the sirens' song is so pleasing that however far off the sailors are they cannot help coming. It makes them so forgetful that when they are drawn there, they fall asleep, and so are attacked and killed treacherously, because they have not been on their guard. The sirens are a type of those women who by their blandishments and deceits attract men to themselves and bring them to poverty and death. And the moralist winds up sententiously with: 'Like the wings of the siren is the love of woman, which goes and comes quickly.'

As regards the musical instruments Isidore was probably followed, as he is a good deal quoted in the French versions. In his *Etymology* (lib. xi, ch. iii) he repeats the passage in the commentary of Servius on the *Aeneid*, v. 864, to the effect that 'the three sirens are represented to have been partly women, partly birds, having wings and claws; of whom one sang, another played on the pipes, and the third on the lyre. . . . They are depicted as having wings and claws, because love both flies and wounds. And for this reason they are said to have dwelt in the waves, because the waves gave birth to Venus.' This last passage is repeated in MS. Bodl. 602.

### THE FISH-SIREN.

The siren in fish form, usually termed the mermaid, is extremely common both in manuscripts and carving. It also came from a classical source, being based on the female triton. In the gallery of casts at the British Museum there is a mosaic pavement from a Roman villa at Halicarnassus, probably of the third century A.D. It shows Venus rising from the sea supported by a pair of female

[1] For an account of this instrument see the article by Miss E. K. Prideaux on 'Mediaeval Musical Instruments in Exeter Cathedral,' page 20 in this vol.

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PLATE X.

NO. 1. FISH-SIREN : MS. HARL. 4751 (B.M.)

NO. 2. SIREN AND ONOCENTAUR : MS. SLOANE 278 (B.M.)

*To face page 175.*

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tritons or mermaids, who have curled fish tails. Venus holds a mirror in one hand, her locks in the other. This scene accords with Isidore's statement; and the mirror in the hand of Venus is likely to have been the forerunner of the numerous mirrors seen in the hands of mermaids.

The siren in fish form is illustrated in many manuscripts. In MSS. Add. 11283 and Harl. 3244 she holds a fish; in MS. Sloane 3544 and MS. 14969 Français (Bibl. Nat.) two fish; in MS. Bodl. 764, where there are three sirens, one holds a fish and the other two the ship; in MSS. Douce 151 and Ashmole 1511 they each hold a double comb and fish; and in MS. 14970 Français the siren is blowing a long horn. In MS. Harl. 4751 she hovers above the ship and holds its prow and a fish (plate x, no. 1); the mast and sail have fallen overboard and the vessel appears to be sinking. One sailor is rowing or steering, and another is standing stopping up his ears with his fingers, in accordance with the legend. In MS. Sloane 278 (B.M.) the vessel has neither mast nor sail (plate x, no. 2). There are three sailors, all of whom are rowing or steering with crutch-headed oars. One of them, who is standing, holds his hand to his ear as before, while the third is being dragged overboard by the hair by the siren. In MS. Sloane 3544 the sailors are asleep in the ship with their heads resting on their hands.

Sirens are also made use of in Alexander's Romance to illustrate 'women who always live in the water; and who, when they see people coming, retire into the water so that they cannot be seen in any way.' In MS. 20 A. v there are three of them of semi-fish form dressed in tunics. They look at and hold out their hands towards two knights standing on the bank. This behaviour, while compatible with the character of sirens, hardly accords with the professions of the ladies in the Romance.

The earliest example of the siren known to us in church architecture is on a capital of the eleventh century in the chapel at Durham castle (fig. 9). It is rudely incised and shows her in fish form holding up her hands as in the manuscripts. She is in the same attitude on the twelfth-century tympanum at Stow Longa, Huntingdonshire, and abroad on the west doorway at Loches. We

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have seen that this gesture is especially associated with the siren who sings, but the carvers were no doubt not particular. In stone carving at Barfreston, Kent, the siren holds a fish; at Nately Scures, Hants, and at the church of Saint-Michel d'Aiguilhe, Le Puy, her tresses.

In woodwork, there are three sirens of the thirteenth century on misericords at Exeter cathedral church. They are in fish form, and in one case a pair of them, symmetrically arranged, are beating a tabor over a mask-like head below (plate IX, no. 2). The latter may be intended for the

FIG. 9. SIREN: DURHAM CASTLE CHAPEL.

head of the sailor, but if it should be regarded merely as a mask, perhaps it denotes the comedies and tragedies mentioned in the bestiaries. In the other case the siren holds a fish. Their tails terminate in foliage. Examples in later woodwork are so numerous that it is difficult to select them for mention. On a misericord of the fourteenth century at Gloucester cathedral church there is a fine siren supporting a fish with either hand. In the fifteenth century the mirror is commonly balanced by a double comb, but the siren frequently holds her locks. A late example in an unusual setting of rocks and trees may be seen on the north side of Henry VII's chapel, Westminster.[1]

[1] Illustrated in Bond, *Misericords*, II.

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The ship is very scarce in carving, and we can only recall one instance, namely, upon a misericord at Boston (plate XI, no. 1). It is a simple boat. There are two sailors, both of whom appear to be asleep, although one holds an oar. On the right is the siren, in fish form, playing a pipe. It is very rare for her to be playing any musical instrument in carving.

An interesting variant may occasionally be found, namely, where she has a double fish-tail. The finest example of this type is at Cartmel (plate XI, no. 2). The details indicate that the carver was a person of some originality or had an unusual model to work from, for he has composed his siren as a garish female with long and wavy hair, that on her left hand being plaited, and that on her right loose. She holds an ornamental comb with fine and coarse teeth,[1] and a mirror with richly-chased rim. Her divided tail was adopted from a classical source, either the triton or Scylla, and is more common on the continent than here, especially as a heraldic device. There are good instances upon a sculptured stone of the twelfth century at the priory of Sainte-Enimie (Lozère) on the Tarn, and on a misericord of the sixteenth century at Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. It is suitable as a corner composition, and appears in this way on the fonts at St. Peter's, Cambridge, and Anstey, Herts.

There are three examples of a siren suckling a lion, on misericords at Wells, Norwich (plate XII, no. 1), and Edlesborough, Bucks. So far we have been unable to ascertain the source and meaning of this feature. In Lincoln minster, there is a misericord with a siren in the centre holding a mirror and comb, and a lion on either side of her, which may possibly be another form of it.

### THE MERMAN OR TRITON.

The merman or triton is sometimes met with in churches. At Long Marton, Westmorland, he appears on a tympanum of the twelfth century, in company with a

[1] French boxwood combs of this kind of the fifteenth century may be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum (room 5).

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dragon.[1] The finest example we have in wood-carving is upon a misericord at St. Mary's hospital, Chichester (plate XII, no. 2), where he is hooded and holds his fish-tail. He does not seem to be described in the bestiaries, but is illustrated in Alexander's Romance. In MS. 20 A. v he appears in the sea in company with the mermaid in the scene where Alexander descends in a glass barrel, and in another scene where men and women are mentioned who live in water. In two cases at least the merman and mermaid occur together on misericords; at Winchester they balance each other as wing subjects, and at Stratford-on-Avon they are side by side in the centre. Abroad both at Loches and Remagen[2] they are found together in twelfth-century work. They are common in heraldry and may be seen as supporters in armorial glass at Brasted, Kent.

### THE ONOCENTAUR.

We must now consider the centaur. It has already been pointed out that, in the form of the onocentaur, it was associated with the siren in the bestiaries through the author making use of the Septuagint rendering of Isaiah, xiii, 21–22, and xxxiv, 11–14. Jerome tells us that the Septuagint alone translated the Hebrew word as *ὀνοκένταυροι*, but that Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotius, as well as he himself, favoured the rendering *ululae*, which appears in the Vulgate. The word *onocentauri*, however, is retained in the Vulgate in Isaiah, xxxiv, 14. Jerome adds that when the Septuagint rendered the Hebrew word as onocentaur, 'they copied the fables of the heathen, who say that there were hippocentaurs.'[3] The name of 'onocentaur' would imply that the creature was a compound of the ass, but in its origin it was not so. It must not be confounded in ecclesiastical art with the hippocentaur, which was drawn from a different source and has a different symbolic meaning.

[1] Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, p. 369.

[2] *Das Portal zu Remagen*. Proceedings of the Verein von Alterthumsfreunden in den Rheinlanden, Bonn, 1859.

[3] Commentary on Isaiah, lib. v.

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[*A. Gardner, phot.*

NO. I. SIREN: BOSTON CHURCH.

[*F. H. Crossley, phot.*

NO. 2. SIREN WITH DOUBLE TAIL: CARTMEL CHURCH.

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The onocentaur has a curious history. How did the Septuagint come to use such a word in the passages in Isaiah, and what did they mean by it? For this we must turn to Aelian's description of the creature,[1] the only one that we have in classical authors. He says:

There is an animal which they call 'onocentaur,' and whoever sees it regards as by no means incredible what has been circulated about it in story, namely that there are nations of centaurs, and that neither those who have carved or painted it have been false in their descriptions; nor will he deny that such creatures have been produced by lapse of time, and that two bodies of diverse natures have coalesced into one. But whether they really existed, or whether hearsay, more flexible and more skilful for fashioning anything than any wax, has fashioned them with two bodies commingled, one half of a man and the other of a horse, and with one soul for the harmonised bodies, I will not discuss.

Now about the onocentaur I have it in my mind to explain those things that I have collected in conversation and by report, namely that it is like a man in the face; and that its face is surrounded with long hair; its neck and chest have a likeness to those of a human being; its breasts project in front; its shoulders, arms, elbows, and hands, and its chest down to the loins are of human form; its back, flanks, belly, and hind feet resemble an ass, and it is of a grey colour as an ass, but under the belly (at the flanks) it approaches to white. Their hands display a double use, for when there is need of swiftness, they use them as forefeet to run; and so it comes about that it is not surpassed in speed by other quadrupeds; and again when it is necessary for it to take food or pick up anything, lay it down, or seize or gather anything together which may be in front of its feet, they become hands again; and then it does not move, but sits down. It is an animal of a hard and bitter spirit, for if it is caught, it does not endure captivity, but the desire for freedom causes it to refuse all food, and prefer death by hunger. It is Crates of Pergamum in Mysia who says that Pythagoras narrates this about the onocentaur.

There is no doubt that the creature here described is an anthropoid ape, and that its 'likeness to a man in the face,' and to an ass in colour and body when on all fours, caused it to receive the name of ass-centaur, following the example of the hippo-centaur. The Septuagint doubtless knew of the description in Pythagoras and employed the word in its true sense to indicate an ape, or a demon like an ape, a suitable creature to haunt the ruins of Babylon. The name of onocentaur was however too near that of the better known hippo-

[1] bk. xvii, ch. 9.

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centaur to escape misunderstanding, and it came to be regarded as a similar kind of creature. Jerome accepts it as such and gives it the following symbolic interpretation: 'Furthermore the name of onocentaur, being composed of asses and centaurs, appears to me to signify those people, who on the one hand are possessed of human intelligence, and on the other are drawn away by illicit pleasures and filthy lust to (all kinds of) vices.'[1]

Gregory, in his 'Moralia,'[2] commenting on Isaiah, xxxiv, 14, takes the onocentaur for granted, but sadly twists its etymology. He says:

But what are signified by the name of ass-centaurs other than deceitful persons and proud? In the Greek language certainly ὄνος is the name for ass, and by the name of ass vice is indicated, as the prophet testifies who says: 'Their flesh is as the flesh of asses' (Ezek. xxiii, 20). Now by the name of bull (taurus) the neck of pride is understood; as it is told by the voice of the Lord about the pride of the Jews through the Psalmist: 'Fat bulls have beset me' (Ps. xxii, 12). Ass-centaurs then are those persons who are given up to the vices of luxury and so lift up their neck (in pride) when they ought to have bowed their head. And these being subservient to the pleasures of their flesh, all feeling of shame having been banished, not only do not grieve for the loss of all uprightness, but go so far as to rejoice over the work of deception.[3]

This collective view of the onocentaur passed into the bestiaries. In the early manuscript at Brussels, from which the part about the siren has already been given, the onocentaur is described thus:

Similarly the Natural Philosopher asserts that the onocentaur possesses a double nature, that is the upper part of it is like a man, but the lower part has the limbs of an ass.[4] These animals are a type of foolish and double-tongued men, who in their morals are double also; as says the apostle: 'Having indeed a profession of goodness, but denying the power thereof' (2 Tim. iii, 5). Of whom also the prophet David says: 'Man when he was in honour did not understand; he is compared to the beasts that are foolish, and is made like unto them' (Ps. xlix, 20).

[1] Commentary on Isaiah, lib. v.

[2] Book of Job, ch. vi.

[3] Gregory further treats of the ass as a symbol of uncleanness in connexion with Job, xxxvii, 3, and xlii, 13–14.

[4] MS. 233 at Berne adds here: 'It is exceedingly brutish by nature' (Cahier).

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[*G. C. D.*

NO. I. SIREN SUCKLING LION : NORWICH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

[*G. C. D.*

NO. 2. MERMAN : ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, CHICHESTER.

[*G. C. D.*

NO. 3. CENTAUR : EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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The miniature shows the onocentaur as a compound of man and ass. He holds up a hare by the hind legs and pierces it with a spear, an exceptional feature. Allen[1] connects it with maps of the stars, but it may be noted that the hare was regarded as a symbol of uncleanness as it was thought to be double-sexed and capable of superfoetation.[2] The lesson itself is also illustrated in the form of two men having a lively discussion which involves much gesticulation. Above them is the legend: 'Ubi bilinguis diversis modis fallitur.' They are dressed in tunics, one having a mantle in addition fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder.

The miniature in MS. Sloane 278 (plate x, no. 2) embraces both the siren (who is pulling the sailor overboard by the hair) and the onocentaur. Their titles are written on the ground. The text is that of Hugo de Folieto, which, with another version, is given in the *de Bestiis et aliis rebus* in the appendix to the *Opera dogmatica* of Hugo de Sancto Victore. From one of them we learn that the onocentaur is partly compounded of onager, the wild ass. It says:

> The Natural Philosopher asserts that the onocentaur combines two natures in one; for the upper part is like the centaur, that is, the equine man, but the limbs of the lower part are those of the wild ass, 'onagri, id est, asini agrestis.'

This use of the wild ass as a symbol of evil passions is probably due to the descriptions in Pliny and Solinus, for they tell us that in the herds of wild asses in Africa each male rules jealously over a number of females, and that fearing the young males as their rivals they mutilate them with their teeth when born. The mothers therefore hide them. This is repeated by Isidore and Rabanus, the latter basing a learned disquisition upon it.[3]

[1] *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 364.

[2] Pliny, bk. viii, 81 (55).

[3] The mutilation of the young males is illustrated in some of the bestiaries, notably in MSS. Bodl. 764, Douce 132, Harl. 4751, and 12 F. xiii; and there are pictures in others of the dam with the foal, and an adult male watching them. The symbolism in the bestiaries is founded on the passage in Job, vi, 5: 'Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass?' It is said to bray twelve times in the night of 25th March, and the same in the day, by which people know that it is the time of the equinox. The wild ass here symbolises the devil, who, when he sees the night and the day to be equal, that is, when he sees the people who were walking in darkness turned

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The early French version of Philip de Thaun does not present any fresh feature regarding the onocentaur. It is derived from Isidore. The Arsenal bestiary gives but a short description with title 'Sagittarius,' and adds: 'Of these creatures Isaiah says: "Men bear a likeness to them, who have double hearts and speak double words" (Ps. xii, 2); it is when they speak well in front and ill behind.'

There is a very curious miniature in Bodl. 602, in which appear two onocentaurs, male and female. The male holds a sword and has the lower half of a man's body suspended by the legs from his ass-body. A man on the left is piercing him near the right shoulder with a spear. On the right is the female onocentaur, who has the upper half of a man suspended by the hands from her ass-body, and is being pierced in the breast with an arrow shot by a man perched in a tree. Both the men are clothed. The text throws no light on this scene, but it may well illustrate a fight between savage men and centaurs.[1] We may recall here the account in the Arsenal bestiary of the fight between Sagittarius and the savage man. There is no doubt that in view of its character, it is the onocentaur with which he is fighting, and the same applies to the carving on the font at West Rounton.

There are many carvings of centaurs in twelfth-century work, and a few in the thirteenth century. After that it seems to have gone out of favour, whereas its companion, the siren, remained in use until the sixteenth century.[2] When the centaur bears a bow and arrow, it is often inscribed with the name 'Sagittarius,' as upon the font at Hook Norton (plate XIII, no. 1) and the west doorway at Kencott, both in Oxfordshire, and at Stoke-

to the true light, Christ, and to be equal in faith with the just, then he roars day and night at every hour and goes about seeking food; and the passage in 1 Peter, v, is quoted in illustration. Gregory in his commentary on the passage in Job, says that the wild ass is a type of the Gentile people who, like the ass which has obtained grass, have been turned from their career of unrestrained pleasure by receiving the grace of the Divine Incarnation, with which both they (and the Jews) are together filled to the full. The passage in Isaiah, xl, 6, 'All flesh is grass,' is brought in in support of his argument.

[1] Male and female centaurs painted at Pompeii are illustrated in John Ashton's *Curious creatures in Zoology*, pp. 81, 82.

[2] A somewhat grotesque form of centaur appears upon a fourteenth-century misericord at St. Katherine's chapel, Regent's Park. It was formerly balanced by a siren, as shown in Ducarel's plate. This association and the details would indicate the onocentaur.

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[*Rev. A. H. Collins, phot.*

NO. 2. FEMALE CENTAUR: IFFLEY CHURCH.

[*G. C. D.*

NO. 1. SAGITTARIUS: HOOK NORTON CHURCH.

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sub-Hamdon, Somersetshire. As the name is applied equally to both onocentaur and hippocentaur, and where they occur singly or without definite association with other figures, there is no means of distinguishing them.

## THE HIPPOCENTAUR.

The hippocentaur is described in a few of the bestiaries, notably in the group of which the Westminster manuscript is a member. The account came from Isidore, and no symbolism is given. He says:

> The hippocentaur is a kind of animal the name of which indicates that it is a mixture of man and horse. Some people say that the horsemen of the Thessalonians were such, because when they rushed into the battle they appeared to have a single body, partly horse and partly man. It is from this circumstance that they have asserted that hippocentaurs were imagined.[1]

The miniature in the Westminster bestiary probably represents the hippocentaur, but we cannot be quite sure. In Douce 88 the corresponding miniature shows a hippocentaur shooting an arrow at the chimaera, but in the Westminster manuscript they are on different pages. In the Cambridge manuscript both hippocentaur and onocentaur are illustrated; the former is vested in a shirt and is shooting with a bow; the latter is of a leaden grey colour, the human figure being of a boorish nature and bearing a (?) club and shield.

In architecture the hippocentaur is frequently associated with other animals, as upon the font at Luppitt, Devon,[2] and on a capital at Barfreston, Kent, where it holds a spear, and on the font at Bridekirk, Cumberland, where it strangles two dragons; or it shoots an arrow at another

[1] *Etym.* bk. xi, ch. 3. In his chapter *de Fabula* (*Etym.* i, xl), he adds: And so it was that the story of the hippocentaur was invented, that is, the man combined with the horse, for expressing the rapid passing of human life, because it is agreed that the horse is an exceedingly swift animal.

[2] Illustrated in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxvii, 289.

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animal, such as a dragon on the chancel arch at Adel in Yorkshire, a griffin on the font at Darenth, Kent, or a monster on the doorway at Kencott, the arrow frequently going down the animal's throat.[1]

The hippocentaur as sagittarius in ecclesiastical art probably has its source in the sign of the zodiac, of which there are many illustrations in the calendars. The symbolism is given in the *Livres des Créatures* of Philip de Thaun.[2] He states on the authority of one Helpericus that the Egyptians gave the ninth sign (for November) the name of sagittarius, 'because it is an animal which knows how to shoot; and that it got this name on account of the hail that we have in that season, which causes us sores on the nose and chin. Our books of arms say that God made sagittarius, that it has a human figure down to the waist and is a horse behind; it holds a bow drawn behind it.' Then the symbolic interpretation is given. The human part of the centaur is a type of Christ when on earth, and the horse his vengeance on the Jews for having betrayed him and sinned against him. The bow signifies that when he was on the Cross and his body struck, his holy spirit departed to those whom he loved, and who were in hell awaiting his help; and the direction of the arrow signifies the way of the Cross.[3]

The details and symbolism here correspond with the scene usually termed the Harrowing of Hell, of which there are many miniatures in manuscripts, and carvings in churches. Christ appears thrusting a cross down the throat of a dragon or other monster, which typifies hell.

During the recent repairs to Winchester cathedral, a twelfth-century capital was unearthed, on which are two centaurs shooting arrows, one down the throat of a dragon-like monster holding a trident, and the other down the throat of a winged beast resembling a griffin.[4]

Centaurs are scarce in woodwork, but there are two

[1] Illustrated in *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. lxvi, 321. Sagittarius shooting an arrow down a dragon's throat may be seen on tiles in the museum at Mainz.

[2] Cotton MS. Nero A. v, twelfth century; and Sloane 1580, thirteenth century (B.M.).

[3] See translation in Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science*, 1841, pp. 38, 43.

[4] Communicated by Sir Thos. G. Jackson, R.A.

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good examples on misericords of the thirteenth century at Exeter cathedral. In one instance a male centaur has shot an arrow into a dragon (plate XII, no. 3). The other is a female holding a bow. Female centaurs are rare. Perhaps the best recorded example is upon a twelfth-century capital at Iffley, where she is suckling her young one (plate XIII, no. 2). Abroad, in woodwork, a centaur is carved upon the thirteenth-century stalls in the cathedral church at Poitiers.

There is another variety occasionally met with, namely where the centaur holds a plant or branch, as upon the twelfth-century tympanum at Ault Hucknall, Derbyshire.[1] This seems to have been based on the figure of Chiron. In an eleventh-century herbal[2] at the British Museum there is a fine miniature, in which Chiron as a centaur holds up a plant. He has a human head and breast, forked beard, and horse's body and tail. Chiron is also illustrated on the Ebstorf map. In MS. Harl. 4986, a German herbal of the twelfth century, there is an illustration of the plant 'centaury major,' with the following legend: 'Chiron centaurus has herbas invenisse fertur, unde et tenent nomen centaurie.' In herbals the shapes of plants are frequently drawn to imitate animals with similar names.

It is not suggested that this varied treatment of the centaur is evidence of a correspondingly varied symbolism, but rather that the artists and carvers took advantage of the numerous models existing in classical art. This would be sufficient to account for the diversity found in ecclesiastical buildings.

The presence of these apparently anomalous forms in ecclesiastical carving may thus be held to be quite logical. The early theologians and commentators adopted them from classical writers, and used them for Christian teaching. Their views were repeated, accompanied by pictures, in the bestiaries and other manuscripts, which, if not always expressly of a religious nature, at least were produced in a religious atmosphere. That was sufficient

[1] Illustrated in Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, p. 366.

[2] MS. Vit. C. iii.

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justification for the ecclesiastical carvers, who were in need of suitable models for decorative purposes.

As on previous occasions, I must gratefully acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered me by Mr. Chas. D. Olive in connexion with the texts. My thanks are also due to the Rev. H. F. Westlake for the facilities afforded me for studying the Westminster bestiaries, and to Mr. F. H. Crossley, Mr. Arthur Gardner, Mr. P. M. Johnston, the Rev. A. H. Collins, and Mr. S. Smith for kindly placing photographs at my disposal.

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## THE VALLUM: A SUGGESTION.

By R. H. FORSTER, M.A. LL.B. F.S.A.

Many theories have been propounded with regard to the Vallum, as the earthworks which lie at the back of Hadrian's Wall are usually called. None of the current theories, however, is entirely satisfactory, and no harm can be done by adding another to the list.

I was at Corbridge when the war began, and heard a good deal of what was happening on Tyneside and thereabouts. A large force of recently-embodied Territorials was quartered near the mouth of the Tyne, and for some time they were engaged in constructing coast-defence earthworks of considerable size and extent—these were ostensibly designed to prevent invasion by a German raiding force, but there is no doubt that their real purpose was to get the men into hard physical condition; nor could any better way of attaining that object have been found.

The suggestion here put forward is that the Vallum served a similar purpose in connexion with the garrison of the Roman Wall, that the ditch was dug and the earthworks thrown up, not as a single operation, like the building of the Wall, but gradually and systematically, not so much to get the men into hard condition, as to keep them so continuously.

Something of the kind must have been needed: a 'fit' man cannot be idle and retain his fitness; and the garrisons of the Wall forts might at any moment have been called on to do work which would be a severe test of their strength and powers of endurance. Ordinary drill and sentry-go would not have been sufficient; route-marching can hardly have been practicable to any great

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extent; but a regular system of pick-and-shovel exercise would meet every requirement, and it could be carried out close to the quarters of each particular troop.

If this theory be correct, the Vallum becomes a comparatively unimportant work. Its main usefulness lay in the labour which its construction involved, and it has probably been left incomplete, at any rate in some places. It is not necessary to suppose that the suggested system of exercise was kept up for a long period; possibly it came to an end when the frontier was advanced in A.D. 140. Nor is this theory inconsistent with others. The Vallum may have been laid out with a general idea that it might prove useful in case of an attack from the south, and it may in practice have served as a civil 'limes'; but its main object would be the provision of physical work for the troops, and for that it was admirably adapted. The great ditch through the basalt at Limestone Bank must have given the men that made it—probably the 'Cohors I Batavorum' of Procolitia—an immense amount of exercise, even though the work was not so extraordinary as some have imagined. Prismatic basalt has natural joints, horizontally as well as vertically; no special skill would be needed for quarrying it, and the principal work must have been the removal of large fragments, a matter of ropes, planks, rollers and adequate man-power. At Corbridge the large Calpurnius Agricola slab, weighing about 18 hundredweight, was brought up out of a hole nearly six feet deep in a couple of minutes by a team of thirty men. With similar tackle and plenty of time a single 'centuria' of the First Batavians could have raised the largest fragment that remains at Limestone Bank, and the exercise would have been as good as digging.

At any rate this theory will explain some facts and features which do not readily fit in with any other. The late Mr. J. P. Gibson, F.S.A. claimed to have found places where there were gaps in the Vallum. If this be so, the theory here put forward explains their occurrence: indeed, they are just what we should expect to find. It also explains the shape of the ditch, which, being flat-bottomed, and not a 'fossa fastigata' or V-shaped cutting, would give room for a double line of workers. The

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lip-mound, which generally occurs on the southern edge of the ditch, but sometimes on the north side, becomes not part of the design, but merely the last remnant of the earth cast up from the ditch, the rest having been shovelled back to form the north or south mound, as the case may be. If the Vallum was not of first-rate importance, except as a means of exercising the troops, the removal of this earth would be left to the last, and the existence of the lip-mound may be evidence of the incomplete state in which the work was left.

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# PROCEEDINGS AT MONTHLY MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

## Wednesday, 5th May, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A. President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft, M.A. read a paper entitled 'Some new light on Roman roads in Sussex,' illustrated by plans and diagrams.

The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

In the discussion there spoke the Chairman, Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins, and Sir William St. John Hope.

Prof. Boyd Dawkins said the paper was very welcome because of its local interest. The outstanding feature of prehistoric Sussex was the dense population of the Downs as compared with the uninhabited and impassable forest of the Weald. In the planning of their road-system in Britain the evidence proved that the Romans made use of the earlier track-ways. Their general direction was retained but they were straightened, and the principle of point-to-point lines was adopted.

Sir William St. John Hope expressed surprise that no trace existed of a Roman road either to Chanctonbury Ring or to Pevensey.

The Chairman agreed in the main with certain criticisms of Stukeley made by Mr. Allcroft; but though fanciful and inaccurate, he felt that Stukeley's merits as a pioneer were often overlooked.

## Wednesday, 2nd June, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. H. Bothamley, M.Sc. read a paper on Carcassonne, the Cité and the Basse-ville, with numerous lantern-illustrations.

It is hoped that this paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

In the discussion there spoke Sir William St. John Hope and the Chairman.

Sir William St. John Hope remarked that Viollet-le-Duc had not 'restored' away quite so much of Carcassonne as might be supposed, but that the work carried out since his time was in a great measure purely conjectural. The mediaeval scheme of fortification seemed to have required the lowering of the ground below the inner line of walls, an alteration which exposed the foundations of the Roman masonry and necessitated their being underpinned. This, he thought, accounted for the apparent superimposition in places of Roman walling above work of a later period.

The Chairman emphasised the continuous history of Carcassonne from the earliest times. Some of the stone-work at the foot of the walls seemed to him almost megalithic in character, and if that were so it would be con-

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temporary with the pre-Roman walls of Saguntum in Spain; as Catalonia at one time embraced Carcassonne, this view did not seem so improbable as it appeared at first sight. He also drew an appropriate comparison between Carcassonne and the Swiss town of Morat, a wonderful example of late mediaeval fortification which had no doubt influenced the nineteenth-century restorers of Carcassonne.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Wednesday, 30th June, 1915.

The summer meeting having been cancelled this year owing to the war, the usual annual general meeting for the transaction of ordinary business was held in London, Sir Henry H. Howorth, President, in the Chair.

The report of the Council being taken as read, and the accounts for the year 1914 having been presented, the Chairman proposed and Sir William Martin Conway seconded the adoption of both, which was carried unanimously. The report and accounts will be printed at the end of the current volume.

The Chairman expressed the Council's regret that it had not been found possible to hold a summer meeting at Norwich as had been intended. Not only was it felt that at so critical a time few members would wish to attend it, but the difficulty of making arrangements in advance for accommodation in trains and motor-cars had proved an insuperable obstacle.

The formal business having been concluded, Prof. G. Baldwin Brown read a paper entitled 'Was the Anglo-Saxon an artist?' with many lantern-illustrations. It is hoped that the paper may be printed in the *Journal*.

The Chairman and Mr. W. W. Watts joined in the discussion that followed the paper.

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## NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN SUSSEX. By Col. H. L. Jessep, R.E. 8 × 5¾, 62 pp. 23 illustrations and map. London: Simpkin, 1914. 2s. 6d.

Following upon the author's treatise on pre-Conquest architecture in Hants and Surrey, reviewed in this *Journal* (lxxi, 93), comes a companion booklet dealing with similar early remains in the important county of Sussex. The title used in the former, 'Pre-Conquest,' would have been preferable in the case of Sussex also, as the early church architecture, especially in the case of Bosham and Lewes, must probably be more Danish than Saxon. One sympathises with the author's dilemma, as in the case of Sussex especially there is so much work which is on the border-line, pre-Conquest in character, yet possibly post-Conquest in actual date, though executed by native builders. To meet this difficulty, apart from the question of a title, Colonel Jessep has followed the classification adopted in the article on ecclesiastical architecture in the *Victoria History of Sussex*, vol. ii, by which three groups of early churches are recognised, viz. (A) the fifteen churches whose pre-Conquest date is now generally admitted by authorities; (B) nineteen where the evidence, although not so clear, is favourable to a pre-Conquest date; and (c) ten, a number that might be extended, where, though the date may be post-Conquest, the technique is not that of the early Norman builders, but rather that of the Saxons. As might be expected, the first group merges into the second, and the second into the third. It is impossible to draw hard and fast lines; but taking the three classes together for the purpose of critical study, we have between thirty and forty churches, a far higher total than any other county can show. It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the earlier Saxon building period, c. 600 to c. 850, of which thirty examples remain in England, has left us no buildings in Sussex (save, perhaps, the remarkable 'aula' lately disinterred from farm-buildings at Nyetimber, Pagham); and that the earliest churches in the county are probably not older than the end of the ninth or tenth century. Colonel Jessep remarks that the great majority of pre-Conquest churches belong to three building periods: '(1) to the reign of Ine (688–728); (2) to that of Edgar (959–975); and (3) to the reigns of Canute and Edward the Confessor.' He might have added the last twenty years of the reign of Alfred, c. 880 to 901, when, the Danes being more or less subdued, there was some chance for the peaceful arts to flourish. Moreover, tradition connects Alfred with certain places in west Sussex, such as Aldingbourne and Arundel; and Athelstan (925–940) is credited with the founding of a nunnery at Lyminster, some walls of which were traced in recent excavations.

St. Olave's Chichester (in spite of its Danish dedication, which would suggest the reign of Cnut), placed by Colonel Jessep in list B, is probably on the site of a Roman Christian church, and should be in list A. In the destructive restoration through which it passed in the 'fifties its walls were shown

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to be largely of Roman bricks, and an arch of the same was brought to light. Its south wall still retains a very narrow early doorway. It may be noted here that St. Andrew's, Chichester, beneath whose churchyard is a tessellated pavement, and St. Pancras are both of very early foundation.

Roman bricks, not perhaps an infallible test of the highest antiquity, occur in six out of the fifteen churches in list A,[1] and in five in list B,[2] but in none of those in list C; and in some cases, such as St. Olave's, Chichester, Rumboldswyke, Westhampnett, Eastergate and Walberton, all within a length of ten miles, they form a very prominent feature in the construction. Hypocaust flue-tiles were found used in the building of the chancel arch at Westhampnett, when that feature was destroyed to make way for one of early French design (!) in 1868. When this reviewer watched the cold-blooded destruction of large parts of Walberton church in 1903, he noted that the south-west angle of the nave was composed of large and carefully-laid Roman bricks, and in the demolished gable-end was found the pre-Conquest gable-cross mentioned by Colonel Jessep, perhaps the only one remaining in England. When last seen it decorated the vicarage rockery!

A curious feature, not noticed in this work, is the triangular-headed tabernacle, in the southern half of the east wall at Ovingdean. These triangular-headed openings, a marked feature of Anglo-Saxon architecture, occur at Sompting (windows and piscina), Bosham and Singleton (doorways in upper stage of towers) and Jevington (tower window). There is also one in the west gable of Old Shoreham church, in what was evidently a Saxon 'porticus,' but this has been embellished with a moulding in the fourteenth century, which marks its real date. Colonel Jessep notes in two churches, Ovingdean and Westhampnett, an upward 'scoop' in the circular heads of the narrow lights (turning the outline into an ovoid form[3]): the same peculiarity, never found in Norman windows, has been noted by the writer in the early windows of Hardham and of Westdean, near Seaford. It is also very noticeable that the jambs of all these slit-like openings incline as they go upward, so that they are considerably narrower at the springing line than at the sill. At Eastdean (east Sussex), in the early semi-attached north tower, which originally had an apse on its east face, are windows displaying this peculiarity, but there the work is perhaps post-Conquest. In this case and at Ovingdean the internal, as well as external, jambs incline upward.

It is interesting to contrast with these ovoid arches the instances of horse-shoe shapes. These are most marked in the tower arch, Bosham, and in the chancel arches of Bosham, Stoughton, Elsted and Chithurst, all of the eleventh century, and the two last probably post-Conquest, built by Saxon workmen. Colonel Jessep comments upon another peculiarity noted by the present writer—the 'through' openings of certain early doorways derived no doubt from those of the mud and rubble cabins still found in England and Ireland, where the wooden doorcase is not rebated into the

[1] Arlington, Bosham, Jevington, Rumboldswyke, Sompting and Westhampnett.

[2] St. Olave's (Chichester), Eastergate, Hardham, Ovingdean and Walberton.

[3] This ovoid form occurs in the arches of some pre-Conquest doorways and chancel arches: e.g. Somerford Keynes, Wilts. north doorway, Lyminster chancel arch, etc. It is a peculiarity found also in early Irish architecture, together with inclined jambs; and in early apse-plans, as at Rochester and Stoke d'Abernon.

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inside angle of the opening, but planted up against it. So here, in the instances of the Saxon 'aula' at Nyetimber (perhaps as old as the beginning of the eighth century), and the north doorways of Lyminster and Selham, we have unrebated, or 'through' openings, and at Selham the wooden door-frame is simply planted up against the inside edge of the doorway. Earl's Barton, Northants. furnishes a prominent instance of this treatment in another county. No doubt one reason for this mode of forming the doorway, so different from that of the Norman and later buildings, where the door itself usually approaches the outside face of the opening, was to afford a sort of porch or shelter, by reason of the thickness of the wall. Its whole appearance is very suggestive of primitive usages.

Colonel Jessep does not comment upon a peculiarity shared by the tower arch of Bosham and the doorway of St. John-sub-Castro, Lewes, namely that the lower courses of their arches above the springing are not jointed from the arch-centre, but are laid almost horizontally, though cut to the arch-form on their intrados. This method of building an arch of small compass is of frequent occurrence in Ireland. So far as the doorway at Lewes goes it suggests the imitation of wooden forms in stone. The arch here is stilted, as well as eccentrically jointed. Its flatly rounded strip-work and beaded impost are noteworthy.

Of other well-known features peculiar to pre-Conquest work, such as thin and unbuttressed walls, double-splayed windows (which occur at Singleton, Stoughton and Arlington), pilaster-strips (found at Worth, Woolbeding and Sompting), and long-and-short work (at Arlington, Bishopstone, Bosham, Sompting and Worth), Colonel Jessep makes mention. He also describes the remarkable double windows at Bosham, Sompting and Worth, the last high up in the north wall of the nave, with a rude mid-wall-shaft of bellied cylinder form. He might have emphasised the great height and span of the chancel arch here, the finest of its period in England, and the astonishing height of its north doorway, which is 15 feet, with a width of 3 feet 8 inches. Stress is rightly laid upon the great height of the walls in most pre-Conquest churches, such as Bishopstone, Bosham, Clayton, Stoughton, Woolbeding and Worth. The details of the Sompting tower, with its strange, square spire, the angles of which rise from the points of four gables, a form common in the Rhenish country, but of which this is the only English example, are perhaps hardly enough emphasised for their extraordinary interest; such as the shaft or rib that divides the upper stages vertically, with its voluted and Corinthian capitals; the double windows with their roll-mouldings and mid-wall shafts having corbel-capitals with voluted scrolls. It is a pity also that the loose statement of an eighteenth-century writer that the spire has been reduced in height 25 feet should be repeated: there is no evidence that this has been done, and on the other hand the present writer can vouch for the probability that the spire-timbers remain much as they were left by the Saxon builders.

There is room for a few ground-plans in such a treatise as this, and it necessarily suffers for the want of them. Space is found at the conclusion for a notice of most of the carved fragments of early date, such as those at Tangmere, Sompting, and Jevington; but it is unfortunate that Colonel Jessep follows Rivoira (as in other of that writer's sweeping dicta) in assigning the famous bas-reliefs from Selsey in Chichester cathedral church to the end

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of the twelfth century. Whether pre- or post-Conquest, probably the former, they are certainly of eleventh-century date. The very remarkable grave-slab, perhaps of the eighth century, at Bexhill, which the late Mr. J. Romilly Allen described as 'by far the most interesting monument of its kind in the south of England,' is noticed, as is also that found by this reviewer in a builder's yard at Walberton. Mention might also have been made of the very early slab recently restored to Steyning church, which may have covered the grave of the eighth-century founder, St. Cuthman; also of the fragments of what may have been an early cross-shaft built into the modern porch of Selsey church. The rare instance of a Saxon sundial at Bishopstone is briefly recorded. Due mention is made of the quite numerous tub-shaped fonts of west Sussex, of which it may be said that those of Walberton, Yapton, Littlehampton, Tangmere, Selham and Didling are probably of pre-Conquest date. The numerous photographic illustrations are useful, but some suffer from the tilting of the camera, which has distorted the vertical lines.

A distinctly useful feature is the map of Sussex at the end, on which the situations of the actual and conjectural pre-Conquest churches, together with the principal towns, are marked. This little book should be of solid value to students.

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON.

LE LIVRE ENCHAINÉ OU LIVRE DES FONTAINES DE ROUEN, 1525. PUBLIÉ INTÉGRALEMENT PAR VICTOR SANSON. Text 20×16, 81 pp. and 14 illustrations in colour. Portfolio of 81 plates, 18×13. Rouen: Imprimerie Lucien Wolf, 1911.

In 1845 M. de Jolimont published a selection comprising forty-nine lithographic reproductions with the title, 'Principaux édifices de Rouen en 1525'; and in 1892 twenty etchings were published; but the work is now for the first time reproduced in its entirety. It is indeed a most sumptuous monument, quite out of the ordinary, even among special archaeological publications. The plates numbering 79 (exclusive of the two key-charts and two supplementary plates) are of the same size as the originals and are tinted by hand. So, too, are hand-coloured the illuminated portions of the text, which is reproduced faithfully in facsimile, not only as to its ornaments, but even to its errors. No modern rectification nor editing has been allowed to mar the freshness and ingenuousness of the early sixteenth-century original.

The first recorded conduit was that anciently called 'Gaalor,' and later the castle fountain, of which there were supplies at six or seven separate spots in the city as far back as 1257. Cardinal Amboise established the Fontaine de Carville in 1500. In 1510 the old market-place benefited by the Fontaine de Yonville, and in 1515 the water-system of the city was still further extended. These three main supplies are dealt with in the body of the book, which follows the course of each one in detail. Incidentally, since it is impossible to describe the fountains, conduits and drainage-system without reference to streets and buildings, the work forms an invaluable record of the topography of Rouen at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Many buildings, including churches, are illustrated. Thus in plates 50 and

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51 are views of the façade of Saint-Maclou with spire complete, views which will show at a glance how far the existing reconstruction is or is not accurate.

In Rouen there is one spot which far exceeds even buildings in interest, namely, the site of the burning of the inspired maid and deliverer of France, Jeanne d'Arc. And strangely enough, though an inscribed stone now marks the spot in the market-place where the tragedy is believed to have occurred, there is no certain identification. 'It is stated that the execution took place in front of the church of Saint-Sauveur, and facing the principal street which leads to the market-place, thus accommodating a larger number of spectators than was possible in any other part of the place. . . . But as the cemetery (of the church) was religious ground and the execution was, nominally at least, a secular one, the ground chosen must have been on land belonging to the municipality of Rouen. Probably this was in the Marché aux Veaux, as we find an order for the burning of a heretic there in 1522: *lieu accoutumé faire telles exécutions.*' Unfortunately one's curiosity on the point remains unsatisfied by the work under notice; for though the holy See, by a process of inquiry in 1449, and again in 1455–1456, had completely vindicated the sanctity of the maid, the actual cultus of Jeanne d'Arc was unknown in the time of the author, and he ignores her very existence. He refers to the fountain by the wall of the cemetery of Saint-Sauveur, but not to the death of the heroine. He refers to a certain 'reparation' which took place at a certain fountain, but it was only a material repair, not reparation in the sense of restoring her good name, who had given her life for France. Nevertheless Jacques le Lieur's work must have been held in high esteem from the outset, for a note at the close records how it was written on parchment, in a cover of black velvet enriched with mounts of latten gilt and of fine gold, enclosed in a casket under lock and key, and in January, 1525–1526, solemnly offered by the author to the representatives of the city of Rouen, and accepted by them to be preserved among the possessions of the municipality for all time.

AYMER VALLANCE.

THE ENGLISH PARISH CHURCH: AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHIEF BUILDING TYPES AND OF THEIR MATERIALS DURING NINE CENTURIES. By J. CHARLES COX. 8¼×5, xix+338 pp. 2 plates and 271 illustrations in the text. London: B. T. Batsford, 1914. 7s. 6d.

The Rev. Dr. Cox is so well known as a writer on architecture, ecclesiology and kindred subjects, that a new work by him is certain to command attention. The subject of the present volume is in some important respects novel, at least as regards its arrangement and peculiar treatment. Many books have already been written about churches in general, but none has hitherto dealt exclusively with the parochial church in all its aspects, as distinct from the greater churches of cathedral, monastic, and collegiate status. Even the parish churches of towns are to a great extent outside the scope of Dr. Cox's book, the purpose of which, as he himself explains in his preface, is 'to put into plain language the origin, development, and aims of the old English parish church, more especially in the country districts. Notwithstanding the wear of time, the ravages of civil war, the fierce flames of religious bigotry, the devastating consequences of contemptuous neglect,

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or the ill-judged zeal of reconstruction, our ancient churches remain the envy of other parts of Christendom for their frequency, their innate beauty, their marvellous adaptability to surroundings, and more especially for the way they reflect the life and devotion of successive generations of our forefathers.'

This is a long extract, but no better nor more succinct account could be found for setting forth the author's object and intention. While the mediaeval church was always primarily a place of worship, it must be remembered that the union of soul and body is so intimate that our fathers habitually used the nave for purposes which, in our modern eyes, are regarded as secular or civil. This fact is highly important, and helps to explain why the parish church was the centre of the life of every parish community, the house of houses in a village, which held a unique place in the esteem and affection of every man, woman, and child in the place.

Special attention is directed by Dr. Cox to the materials out of which churches were constructed, and the local influences and conditions which determined that a building should take this or that peculiar form in any given locality. Thus, while the purpose of the church was one from end to end of the country, the expression of that purpose was necessarily subject to almost infinite modifications and varieties. With this subject is more or less closely associated that of the plan, which was at no time a fixed or stereotyped entity, but continually in a state of growth and flux as special needs or circumstances might dictate. The volume is admirably enriched with plans which (with rare exceptions of unusually large buildings) have been reproduced to a uniform scale of twenty-five feet to the inch. In a work of this kind a short résumé of architectural changes and developments could not altogether be omitted, but as the subject has been amply dealt with by other writers, this particular section of the book has purposely been compressed to the narrowest limits compatible with the elucidation of the subject-matter as a whole. In this, the third chapter, which deals with architectural styles, the author, contrary to the latest school of archaeologists, favours and defends the use of Rickman's classification of the pointed styles, namely, 'early English,' 'decorated' and 'perpendicular.' Only he would go further and supplement Rickman's terms with extra subdivisions, namely, 'transitional,' between Norman and 'early English,' and 'geometrical,' between the latter and 'decorated.'

The last chapter, 'What to note in an old parish church,' deals in Dr. Cox's peculiarly lucid way, one by one, with the various objects in an ancient church. He is not least interesting and instructive when he demolishes such cherished popular illusions as 'leper-windows,' 'sanctuary-knockers,' or 'frescoes' in English churches.

On page 297 may be noted a misprint, Byarsh for Ryarsh, in Kent; and there are two misprints in the rendering of Latin, 'quod idie' for 'quotidie' on page 307, and, in the final text, 'Domine dilexi decorum domus tuae.' The middle word should, of course, read 'decorem.'

The book concludes with two capital indexes, of which the one of the illustrations, arranged according to counties, shows by its impartial distribution how widely the writer has travelled throughout the country, and how well qualified he should be, therefore, to write the interesting volume under notice.

A. V.

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RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF NOTTINGHAM. Vol. vi (1702–1760). Published under the authority of the Corporation of Nottingham. Edited by E. L. GUILFORD. 10 × 6½, xii + 390 pp. plate. Nottingham: Thos. Forman & Sons. 1914. 12s. 6d. n.

The municipal corporation of Nottingham was one of the first to publish its early records, and five volumes of the series have already been issued. After an interval of fourteen years a sixth volume has now appeared, covering the period from 1702 to 1760. These more recent records are very voluminous, and the value of the book depends upon the evident skill with which the editor, Mr. E. L. Guilford, has made his selection of documents.

Naturally the first object which has guided him is the retention of all that relates to the development of municipal institutions. There had been a long-standing struggle of the burgesses against the close corporation of the town council, which came to a head when the former in 1749 obtained a mandamus for the restitution of their rights of admission to the control of municipal affairs.

The domestic life of the period is illustrated by references to old customs, such as bull-baiting in 1720, and the use of the ducking-chair for women in 1729. Licences are issued to a *badger* or fish-hawker, and a *kidder* or provision-dealer. Three mazes are kept in order by the corporation, one of them probably being St. Ann's *Chemin de Jerusalem*, described by Camden, and perhaps parodied by the public-house sign, 'A Trip to Jerusalem,' which still exists under the cliffs of Nottingham castle. The sheriffs are evidently puzzled by the alteration of the calendar in 1752, and apprehensive that the loss of eleven days may deprive them of their famous goose-fair.

Echoes of what was passing in the larger world outside the town are heard in the ringing of bells by the loyal citizens to celebrate the very frequent victories of our forces by sea and land, on no less than eighteen occasions, including the Prussian victories in 1757. The date of an entry on 17th April, 1747, of a payment for ringing for the victory at Culloden, is questioned in a footnote on the ground of the impossibility of the news reaching Nottingham in one day. But as Culloden was fought on 16th April, 1746, the obvious explanation is that the bells on this occasion were rung on the anniversary of that date. Interesting matter is given in reference to the Jacobite rising of 1745, when Nottingham is found preparing itself for attack, and the rebels came as near as Derby.

Lists of mayors, aldermen, burgesses, etc. during the period covered by the volume, are added; there are three excellent indices to localities, names, and subjects, and a reproduction of Deering's map of Nottingham in 1751.

A. D. H.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY OF EAST ANGLIA, 1913–1914, vol. i, part iv. 8½ × 5½, 106 pp. London: H. K. Lewis, 1914. 3s. 6d. n.

This number of the Proceedings contains, for the most part, articles dealing with the classification of flint implements according to type. Unfortunately these objects are either surface-finds or from localities in which

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no associated relics are found to throw light on the people who made and used the implements.

In the absence of any better evidence, classification according to form, patination, etc. is all that can be hoped for, and it is useful especially when the description is well and amply illustrated. The form of implements, however, owing to recurrence of type, may be quite misleading as to the period of their origin. An unfinished implement of a later age may reproduce, in an embryonic manner, its remote ancestor. 'Throw-backs' also occur, as in the case of late highly-finished implements which have met with disaster and been split into small rude forms, which, according to their type, would be considered early. The tendency of classification by type seems to make the once restricted cave-age assume vast proportions, while the former important neolithic period shrinks to insignificance.

The examination of living sites, and the extended observation of stratified deposits may, in time, modify many conclusions based on the large quantities of implements that have been collected without reference to their surroundings.

It is interesting to notice that Mr. Reid Moir admits the natural flaking of flints in the 'Bull Head Bed.' It is doubtful if so much argument were necessary to show that such chipping differed from that on flints in the gravels. Different forces, natural and artificial, as well as different conditions of the flint, naturally produce different results. The difficulty in accepting the dictum of those who claim to discriminate between the natural and artificial is therefore increased.

The 'Drove' road is an interesting piece of topographical work, and if the effort to prove it prehistoric is not very conclusive, it has many points in its favour. The authors admit at the outset that 'it is difficult to prove that a road is prehistoric—in many cases more difficult to prove that it is not.'

An interesting find of a flint workshop floor near Thetford is described by Mr. Haward, and he displays sufficient courage to confess that, in his opinion, this is a true neolithic site. Mr. Moir also describes a floor discovered at Ipswich, with which are associated pottery fragments and bones. The flints point to an earlier period than the pottery, and Mr. Moir wisely leaves open the question of age, but makes a suggestive remark regarding the flints: 'If these floors are not of the Cave period, then they must be of neolithic age, and if so then we must imagine that in this latter period there occurred a remarkable recrudescence of the late palaeolithic cultures.'

It is possible that some of our former ideas on the prehistoric periods will have to undergo great changes, but the recent lines of enquiry have shown as much divergence from each other as they differ from the earlier conceptions, and until more has been done by spade-work and observation of the objects in situ, no wide speculations can be regarded as satisfactory.

F. W. R.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF LINLITHGOWSHIRE. By F. C. Eeles. 8¾×6¾, 34 pp. 12 illustrations. Edinburgh: John Orr, 1913. 2s. 6d. n.

Mr. Eeles is well known to campanologists as the pioneer in the investigation of Scottish bells. He has in fact the sole credit for the work done so far in that country, for unfortunately no one else has yet followed the

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excellent example he set with his admirable monograph on the church bells of Kincardineshire, published in 1897. In the eighteen years which have since elapsed he has collected much information from all parts of the country, but we have had long to wait for the publication of another completed county. Now that it has come, it is but a little one, Linlithgowshire being in size almost the smallest county in Scotland; but we are not ungrateful, for it contains more than one bell of special interest.

Linlithgowshire only contains twelve ancient parishes, besides one formed in 1718; and in these thirteen parish churches there are in all twenty-one bells, of which nine are not older than the nineteenth century. The remaining twelve Mr. Eeles classifies as follows: three mediaeval (two Scottish, one doubtful); five seventeenth-century (two Scottish, three Dutch); four eighteenth-century (one English, one Dutch, one Danish, one doubtful).

The high percentage of mediaeval bells is to be noted; it is about 14 per cent. a ratio surpassed by very few English counties. The three mediaeval bells are, moreover, of exceptional interest. The oldest is at Bo'ness, and though Mr. Eeles classes it as doubtful, it appears to the writer to be unquestionably of English, probably north-country, make. The general character of the lettering resembles that found on bells of the northern English counties, though it does not correspond exactly to any known examples. The inscription 'En Katerina vocor ut me per virginis alme' is obviously incomplete, and must have been continued on another bell. It is difficult to date bells of this north-of-England type, but the date is probably about 1400.

The other two are a pair, from the same foundry, and (says Mr. Eeles, who finds parallels in other counties) of undoubted Scottish casting. They are, however, ornamented in the continental style, and both are dated, so that the founder must have come under the foreign influences always so powerful in mediaeval Scotland. One is at Linlithgow, a beautiful bell dated 1496, with the inscription 'Lynlithqw me villa fecit vocor alma maria tum Iacobi quarti tempore magnifici seno milleno quadringeno nonageno' in Gothic minuscules. The other, at Uphall, is dated 1503. Both have as founder's mark 'Xt' on a rectangular die.

The seventeenth-century bells include two by John Meikle of Edinburgh and three of Dutch work; among those of the eighteenth century we have another Dutch bell, and a Danish bell of 1781 from Copenhagen. The book concludes with an interesting section on ringing customs, and a note on the belfries of the county, of which the best example is at Kirkliston. It is admirably printed, and forms a valuable record. Campanologists should not grudge the price, which works out at about a penny per page! We hope it will soon be followed by other monographs from the same pen.

H. B. W.

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THE RABBIT-WALK, FIRLE HILL.

THE RABBIT-WALK, FIRLE HILL.

(The lighter portion of the roadway is the modern horse-tread. The dark shadow at the outer edge is produced by the long growth of summer grass.)

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## SOME ROMAN ROADS IN THE SOUTH DOWNS.[1]

By A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT, M.A.

There was in Romano-British times a cemetery at Seaford[2]; therefore presumably a settlement, and a road or roads leading thereto. It has become almost traditional to assert that one such road ran from Lewes by way of the present Lewes–Newhaven road past Iford and Rodmell to Southease, across the Ouse at or near Itford, and so to Seaford. The origin of this assertion appears to be Stukeley, who says[3] that a Roman road ran from Lewes to Newhaven by way of Rodmell, admitting, however, that he had this information on hearsay. He imagined that one of the four 'royal roads' began at Newhaven, and that it continued past Lewes by way of Isfield and Sharnbridge towards London, apparently overlooking the fact that there was no port of Newhaven until the eighteenth century. In support of his view he cited the name of Rodmell, which he took to mean 'road-mill'; and later antiquaries, mostly accepting this bad guess without comment, have sometimes improved upon it by pointing also to the name of Iford. There was, they argue, a ford here; *ergo*, a road leading to the ford; *ergo*, a Roman road. Dealing in the same way with Itford, they had a satisfactory sequence of three place-names lying in the required line.

Now, though it is true that Iford appears so spelt as early as 1278, the Domesday form of the name is Niworth (Niworde), and the inference is that *-ford* is a later substitute for the original *-worth*. Such substitution can be paralleled in several other cases,[4] though perhaps not at so early a date. It is therefore unsafe to draw from the later form of the name any inferences

[1] Read before the Institute, 5th May, 1915.

[2] F. G. Hilton Price and J. E. Price in *Journal Anthropol. Institute*, vi, 300 (1877); J. E. Price in *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* xxxii, 167 (1882).

[3] *Iter Curiosum V.* Stukeley elsewhere asserts that five Roman roads met at Lewes. Understanding the expression 'at Lewes' in a loose sense, the present article will be found to justify Stukeley in regard to *four* roads, if it fails in any degree to justify the fifth.

[4] e.g. Duxford (*D.B.* Dochesuuorde) and Pampisford (*D.B.* Pampesuuorde), both in Cambridgeshire, and Poslingford in Suffolk. See Skeat, *Place Names of Suffolk* (*Cambs. Antiq. Soc. Publications*, xlvi, p. 35).

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as to its meaning, quite apart from the fact that the valley of the Ouse is here 1½ miles across, far too wide to be negotiated by any ford at a date prior to the embanking of the river.[1] The name of Rodmell (anciently Ramelle, Rademeld, Rademylde, etc.[2]) cannot possibly derive from anything meaning either a road or a mill, and perhaps alludes to the markedly 'red mould' of the locality, in contrast with the lighter tints of the surrounding chalky soil.[3] There remains then only the name of Itford. This, which to-day attaches to a single farm and farm-house in Beddingham, appears as Iteford in *Feudal Aids* of 1401, and nothing else seems to be known about it. The house was once a manor-house of the Lewknors. That there actually did exist a ford here in very early times is suggested by several reasons. The hills on either side of the river here close in, so as to leave only a narrow passage; it is impossible to believe that the manor, which lay immediately upon the eastern bank of the river, was without some ready means of access to the Lewes–Newhaven road, still the only tolerable high-road in the valley, as it was in Ogilby's time (1675); and to a ford at this spot points an old road from the Long bridge at Alfriston along the northern foothills of the Downs by Berwick, Alciston, Bopeep, Charleston, West Firle, and The Lay. Moreover, here is to-day the only bridge over the river between Lewes and Newhaven. There is, however, no evidence that the ford was available in Roman times, nor is the nature of the ground between Itford and Seaford such as to suggest that a Roman road-engineer would have chosen this course. After spending some years in the fruitless effort to justify Stukeley, the writer abandoned his theory and turned to the Downs between Seaford and Firle. There the road sought for was found at once, together with other matters which may perhaps be thought worth consideration.

[1] R. G. Roberts, *Place-Names of Sussex* (1914), dismissing the Domesday form, interprets the name in the popular way, 'the ford in the marshy ground.' He further confuses the matter by misreading, and then mistaking as meant for Iford, two of the Domesday forms of the name of the hundred of Easewrith, viz. Ifiwirde and Ifewerit (*Domesday*, Isiwirde, Isewerit).

[2] Redmile (Leices.) was also spelt Rademylde in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

[3] R. G. Roberts, op. cit. endorses this suggestion, which is not by any means free from difficulties.

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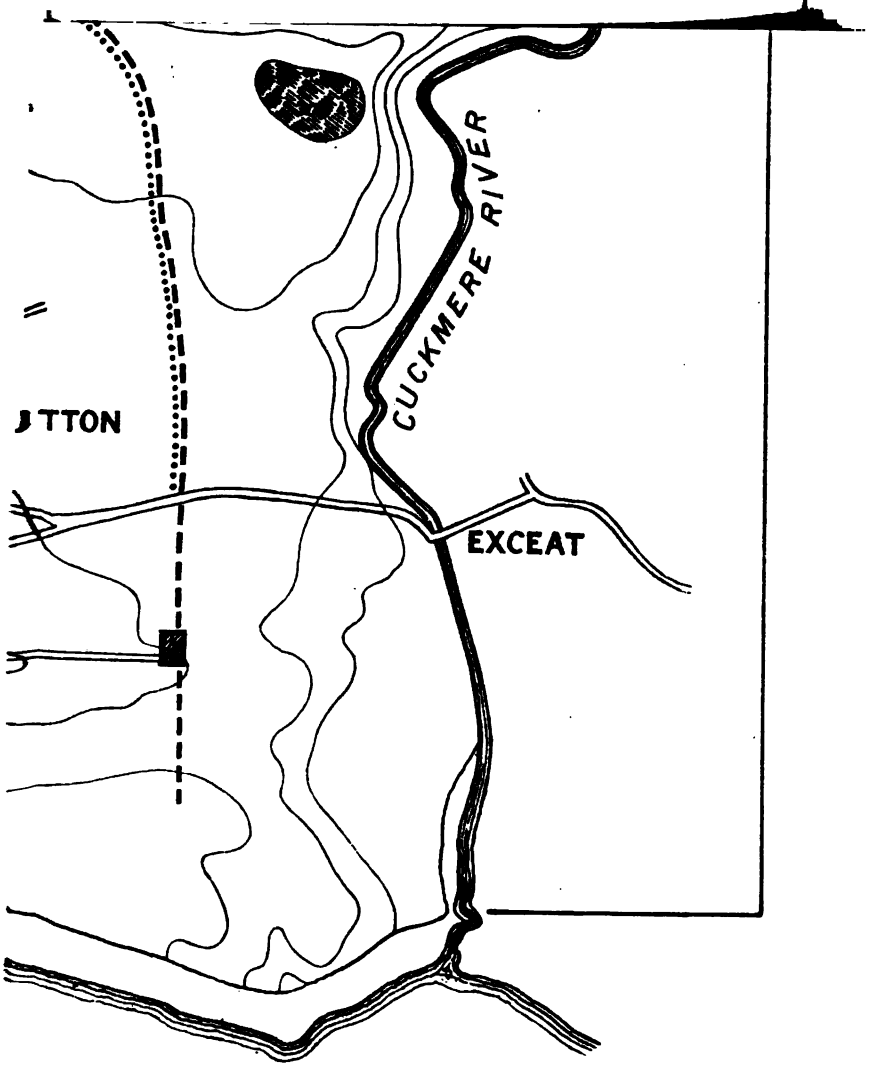
*to face page 203.*

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## THE ROAD ON TOY FARM.

Firle beacon (718 ft.) is the apex of an insulated mass of chalk which slopes gradually up to this point from the coast at Seaford. The valleys of the Cuckmere and of the Ouse form the boundaries on east and west, while on the north the hills fall, with the abruptness which characterises the whole length of the northern scarp of the Downs, towards the Ritch river or Glynde reach, the chief affluent of the Ouse. The scarp forms a pronounced curve of 90°, about a centre at Bishopstone (between Seaford and Newhaven), one end of the arc lying upon the Cuckmere at Alfriston, the other on the Ouse at Itford, Firle beacon being only a few yards eastward of the middle point of the arc. The down to the immediate west of the Beacon is known as Firle hill, overhanging the village of West Firle, 400 feet below. Beyond the village the foot-hills fall gently to the north, forming a kind of promontory between the levels of Laughton to the east and Beddingham to the west.

One and a half miles due south of West Firle church, upon the southward slope of Firle hill, at 450 feet above sea-level, lies a noticeable group of round barrows known as Firle Lords' burghs.[1] One of them has been destroyed recently for the sake of the flints of which it was largely built, but the remaining two, ranged closely together north and south, are of height and proportions very unusual among the Downs. The 'agger,' now turf-grown, of a Roman road of the first class overlies the south-eastern base of the more southerly of these. From this point it is intact for a distance of 230 paces, running in a straight line 27° east of north, perfectly smooth except where the material has been grubbed in parts near its southern end. The relief is 12 inches, the crown 25 feet in width, and on either side can be guessed, rather than seen, the presence of a fosse.

By the kindness of the landowner, Viscount Gage, and of the tenant, Mr. H. Stacey, I was able to cut a section across the road in September, 1914. The actual measurements proved to be as follows: crown of road,

[1] O.S. (6-ins.) Sussex east, LXVII, S.E.

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24 feet; base (bottom of fosse to bottom of fosse), 30 feet. The road was built of smallish flints laid to a depth of 12 to 15 inches upon a bed of chalk-rubble. The surface was heavily cambered, and lying upon it, when the turf was removed, were found scraps of the common Romano-British pottery of this part of England.

A few yards to the south of Firle Lords' burghs the road is lost in the cultivated land of Toy farm. To the north also it has been ploughed out, but at a more remote period: old plough-marks run up to the 'agger' on either side where it is still intact, while they are to be found in numbers crossing the line of its northward projection; a few yards east of the line of this projection there still remains a small barrow, and traces of the hard bed of the road are discoverable in places where cart-ruts have cut across the line. At a point only 300 yards to the east was found in August, 1914, a Romano-British cemetery[1] and 'ustrina.'[2] Nearer to the brow of the down there is no visible trace of the road, the whole of the ground hereabouts having been disturbed by continual flint-digging, but the line (projected) reaches the brow of Firle hill (600 ft.), midway between Firle Borstall on the west and Firle beacon on the east, i.e. some 500 yards west of the latter, at a point marked by a second and much smaller pair of barrows. It would seem that the two pairs of barrows were taken as sighting-points when the road was laid out. At this spot the ground commences to fall towards the north, gently for some 30 yards, thereafter with extreme abruptness, dropping 300 feet in 600 feet.

The existence of the Roman road on Toy farm is an unassailable fact, and unless we are to suppose that its makers, for whatever reason, left it unfinished, we must conclude that it was carried further. There are only two alternatives possible: either it swung east or west along the ridge of the Downs, or it went immediately down the hill in more or less the original direction. The former alternative is unlikely, for the ridge here swings

[1] *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* lvii, 217 (1915).

[2] Writing in *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* xxii, 76 (1870), the Rev. H. Smith mentions that 'the site of some dwellings has been discovered on the southern spur of Firle beacon,' associated with Samian and other pottery. I can find no further details of this discovery.

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round on a curve of a quarter-circle, the Roman road striking the arc pretty much at the middle point; and a road carried along the ridge could have gone only to Seaford or to Itford. It will be shown presently that a Roman road does so run from this spot to Seaford, though there is no evidence for any running to Itford; but that a Roman engineer, starting from any point between Newhaven and Toy farm, should have laid out a road to either Seaford or Itford on the zig-zag course assumed by this alternative, is incredible. If his road had descended the hill at any other point of the arc, it would be just as difficult to understand why he laid it out as he did; and the face of the hill being for the most part elsewhere little less steep than at this particular spot, the problem of getting down to the lowlands would still remain to be solved. One must fall back upon the other alternative, namely, that the road was somehow carried down the hill at this precise spot, continuing as nearly as might be upon its original line of direction.

### THE TWO FORDS AT GLYNDE.

Facing Firle hill, across the valley through which runs the Ritch river, rises two miles away to the north-west the isolated massif of Mount Caburn; and under the eastern slopes of Mount Caburn, on the north bank of the river, lies the village of Glynde, its single street running north and south to the bridge. Towards this spot run out the lower foothills of Mount Caburn on the one side and of Firle hill on the other, here reducing to their narrowest the water-meadows—anciently the bed of the now embanked river—which to east and west broaden out into wide stretches of land still flooded every winter. The bridge stands upon the site of a far older ford,[1] for the sake of clearness to be referred to as ford (B), and before the construction, about the year 1821, of the modern Lewes–Eastbourne high-road by way of Beddingham, the traffic east and west for many centuries

[1] MS. of W. Wisdom. He was a wheelwright and carpenter of Glynde, and he found the ford in 1774, while sinking the piles for a bridge. The MS. is, by gift of Mark Antony Lower, the property of the parish of Glynde.

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passed by this route, there being not more than some 400 feet of wet ground to traverse. Some of the large stones[1] which served either as stepping-stones, or more probably perhaps as marks to guide the traffic,[2] are said to lie buried beneath the grass upon the northern bank. But 600 yards further to the east there was another ford, which I shall refer to as ford (A), at a point where the northern bank (the Rise) was higher and firmer, although the passage across the tidal flats was longer (1,000 ft.); and at a spot about one mile below the point now reached by ordinary tides there remains a straight, level, and boldly-cambered causeway, with a width of 32 feet and a relief of 2 feet, running south-east from this ford and pointing to a spot upon the Lewes–Eastbourne road known as Wick street. Both elements of this name are suggestive. Both ford and causeway are understood to be Roman,[3] and the last 200 yards of the line coincide with an ancient roadway, now disused, of characteristic Roman appearance, twelve feet wide, with a well-preserved fosse on either side. The original edition of the one-inch ordnance survey in 1813 shows this roadway continued in a straight line beyond Wick street and across Firle park (of which at that time it formed the north-east boundary) until it fell into the road which now forms the eastern limit of the park. The point of junction still bears the name of Heighton street, and upon the line of the old road hence to Wick street stood the lost village of Heighton St. Clere, of which little is now traceable but the site of the church.

The true objectives of this road have been overlooked owing to the prevalence of the belief that it connected a Roman settlement at Lewes with Anderida, and was therefore supposed to have joined up in some way with the east-to-west road along the foot-hills from Itford to the bridge at Alfriston. Against this belief must be set the facts that there is no evidence whatever for the existence of any settlement at Lewes in

[1] Information of Rev. W. E. Dalton, Vicar of Glynde.

[2] A coin of Antoninus was found at the spot when the bridge was constructed, but there is no evidence that the ford was in customary use in Roman times.

[3] St. Croix, *Hist. of Glynde* (printed in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*). Mr. T. Colgate, Expenditor of the Ouse Levels, informs me that he has seen the actual paving of this ford in the river-bed.

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Roman times,[1] and therefore no likehood of any roads thereto; and that there is no showing the road along the foot-hills to be of Roman date.

### THE RABBIT-WALK.

The road now forming the eastern boundary of Firle park from end to end, originally went no further north than Heighton street, and was doubtless extended north-east to the Lewes–Eastbourne road only when the older road direct to Wick street was blocked and the north-eastern part of the park annexed. Its southern terminus at the present day is its junction with the old trail along the foot-hills from Itford to the bridge at Alfriston; but if projected, it would reach the steep slope of Firle hill at a point identical with the easternmost corner of Firle plantation. There are four reasons for the inference that originally it was thus projected: firstly, there are plain indications of the hard bed of the road under the grass at the point last named; secondly, the facts suggest that such a roadway was taken as the eastern limit of the plantation, exactly as the surviving portion of the road served to demarcate the park; thirdly, there still remains, precisely at the required spot in the field-fence crossing the line about midway, an old gateway, for which there is no other means of accounting; and fourthly, the line thus projected coincides exactly with the lower end of the so-called 'Rabbit-walk.'[2] This is a remarkable green terrace-way which climbs the hill and emerges on the crest precisely at the spot upon which falls the projection of the Roman road on Toy farm. That it should coincide so aptly at either end with what is required is in itself enough to raise the question whether it be not itself a Roman work and part of the original Roman road. When further there are taken into account the peculiarities of its construction, peculiarities which differentiate it at once from the typical hill-ways of the chalk area, there should remain very

[1] The identification of Lewes with Mutuantonis of the Ravenna Geographer has nothing to justify it. The earliest evidence for the existence of a settlement upon the spot is said to be coins of Athelstan minted here (tenth century).

[2] Not marked on O.S. (6-ins.) Sussex east, LXVII, N.E.

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little doubt of its Roman origin. On the degree to which this can be established depends the entire argument of this article.

The normal hill-way of the South Downs is something that has grown with usage. In gradient, in width, in surface, it is merely what the circumstances have made

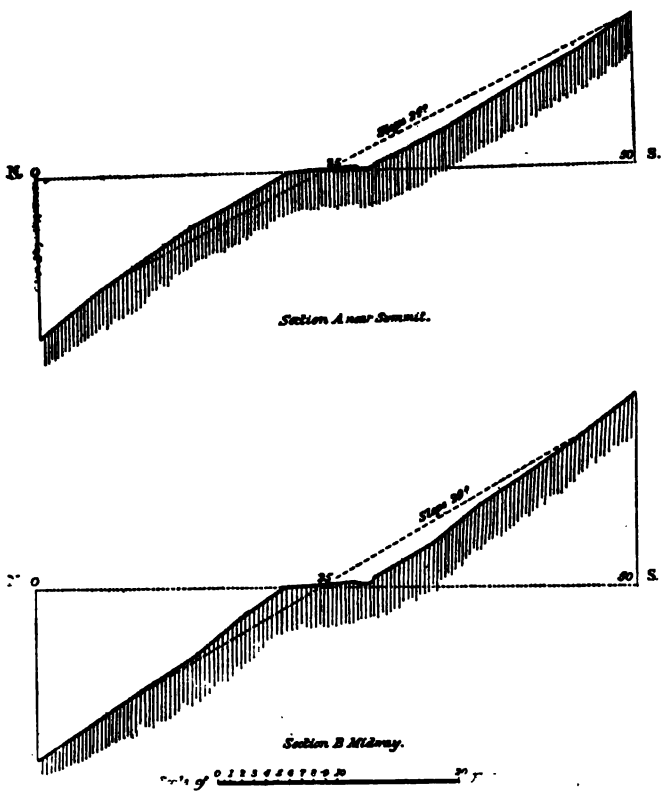


FIG. 2. SECTIONS OF TERRACE-WAY ('RABBIT-WALK') ON FIRLE HILL.

it; steeper or less steep, broader or narrower, smoother or rougher, its qualities vary with every few yards of its course, and if it has one abiding characteristic, it is that the roadway is almost invariably a 'holloway.' It is a mere rut worn in the face of the hill by years of traffic and weather, and in consequence it is as invariably bounded by banks *on both sides*, the height of which is more or less according as the trail has been much or little

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used. In every one of these respects the 'Rabbit-walk' is different. It descends the hill, which is an exceptionally steep one with a fall of 1 in 2, by a gradient of mathematical regularity (1 in 5); it has a normal width of 8 feet[1]; its surface is smooth and unbroken turf, save that along its inner edge the passing of occasional horsemen has broken the usual 20-inch tread which a horse requires. Nowhere from top to bottom does it show the slightest tendency to become a 'holloway'; and so far from having any sort of bank upon its down-hill side, its edge on that side is clean-cut like a step. It is, in fact a step cut out of the hill's face, the material removed from the up-hill side having been thrown down upon the other to form a wider roadway. The form of its section (fig. 2) is incontestable proof that it was so made, and the point to which the hill was cut back is still distinctly observable at many parts of its length. Lastly, the test of the spirit-level brings out the fact that throughout its course the floor of the roadway has a slight, but decided and uniform, slope from the up-hill to the down-hill side, this being rather less than 1 inch in the foot. No one accustomed to notice the character of his path can fail to be struck by the unusual features of the 'Rabbit-walk,' and the unfailing test of level and measuring-rod must convince any one that the thing is artificial, the work of engineers concerned to make a negotiable roadway down a hill by nature impracticable, and to safeguard their road from the destructive effects of scour by giving it just sufficient tilt to throw off all surface-water. Who were the engineers? The writer has asked himself this question insistently from the day when he first happened upon the 'Rabbit-walk' until, five years later, the answer was furnished by his finding the Roman road on Toy farm. It is suggested that the 'Rabbit-walk' is Roman work, and probably as perfect a piece of Roman road-engineering as Sussex can show. Two views of the terrace-way are given in plate 1.

There is no reason to deny it such an origin, for it is an accepted fact that the Roman engineers habitually constructed terrace-ways up and down the steeper hills

[1] At its lower end, as is usual with hill-ways, the floor of the road becomes wider with the decreasing steepness of the hill.

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which barred their roads. There was indeed no other plan to be followed, unless they had avoided the hills; and not the least remarkable feature of their work is the boldness with which they laid out their roads so as to traverse the very highest, or all but the very highest, hills along the line. The Toy farm road is a case in point, and another at the Devil's dyke will be dealt with presently. In what precise manner the terrace-way was constructed might and did vary with the circumstances. In Craven, for instance, the Roman terrace-ways are wide and cambered, whereas here at Firle the roadway is narrow and void of camber. The reason is purely a matter of geology; what was at once necessary and satisfactory upon the precipitous chalk slope of Firle hill would have been neither satisfactory nor necessary upon the gentler shoulders of a limestone ridge in Craven. To have attempted to construct a twenty-foot road on the face of Firle hill, which slopes in places at an angle of 29°, would have been as wasteful an economy as to have attempted to hew a smooth terrace-way out of the intractable Craven limestone.

A glance at the printed descriptions of other known Roman roads of the chalk area will furnish proof enough that such terraces are common there. Thus, to cite one instance only, Codrington, speaking of the road from Silchester to Bath, writes: 'on Morgan's hill it is carried on a terrace about 5 yards wide, *cut into and embanked upon* the slope of the hill'[1]; and he has a similar, if less precise, description of the road from Winchester to Cunetio. But Sussex itself provides a yet more convincing example in the course by which the Stane street descends Glatting down towards Hardham and the Weald. This, an unquestionable piece of Roman work, and in some ways the most remarkable Roman road in the country, upon reaching the brow of the down, suddenly abandons the extraordinary triple form observable on the ridge of the hill, and takes the shape of a simple terrace, in some places 30 or even 35 feet wide.[2] This is vastly wider than is the 'Rabbit-walk,' but on the one hand the Stane street, between Chichester and Hardham, is

[1] *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 532.
[2] *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* lvii, 145 sqq.: 'The terrace was formed by cutting back the slope of the hill.'

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both in plan and in dimensions exceptional, and on the other hand the slope of the ground on Glatting down (13° to 15°) is only half as steep as that of Firle hill.

The 'Rabbit-walk,' in pursuing its carefully graded course along the contours of the hill, describes a curve approaching 90°. Its upper end coincides, as has been said, with the projection of the Toy farm road; its lower portion, if projected, would lead direct into the lane skirting Firle park, and so on by Heighton street and Wick street to the Roman ford at Glynde. The double coincidence can hardly be explained away, and any one who endeavours to do so must also provide some alternative course whereby the Toy farm road may have descended the hill. The topography does not admit of any alternative course.

The variations in the gauge of the various sections of the line here traced are remarkable. Thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Causeway to ford (A) at Glynde .. .. .. .. | 32 ft. |
| Road near Wick street .. .. .. .. .. | 12 ft. |
| Rabbit-walk .. .. .. .. .. .. | 8 ft. |
| Toy farm road .. .. .. .. .. .. | 24 ft. |

Such variations, however, are in no way unusual. The width of the Fosse way, for example, one of the four 'royal roads,' varies from 6 or 7 feet at Radstock to as many yards near Jackment's Bottom, Cirencester.[1] The narrow dimensions of the 'Rabbit-walk,' at any rate, were imposed upon the engineers by physical facts—by the steepness of the hill.

A fortunate accident diverted the traffic of post-Roman times, perhaps because of the rise of Lewes to importance. Travellers thereafter naturally made Lewes a halting-place, and continued their journey by the nearest way to Glynde. This brought them to the alternative ford (B) near the present railway-station and bridge, and crossing the Ritch river there, they pushed on direct towards the hill[2] by way of Little Dene and New Elm to Firle Borstall, a typical downland 'holloway' which emerges upon the ridge about 500 yards west of the 'Rabbit-walk.' Thence they followed the greenway

[1] Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 12.

[2] Firle hill is still denominated simply 'the hill' on the local signposts.

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along the ridge to a point just beyond Firle beacon, where it forked. One branch went straight on to the bridge near Alfriston, the other swung southward to reach the bridge at Exceat. Both trails ultimately reunited in Eastbourne.[1] The earlier Roman route being abandoned, the 'Rabbit-walk' also went out of use, and this explains its remarkable state of preservation. It is too narrow to have invited any wheeled traffic, when wheeled traffic after many centuries revisited the Downs. The pack-horses of the intervening centuries went by way of Firle Borstall. The 'Rabbit-walk' itself was deserted, and when once those sections of the road which formed the immediate approaches to north and south had been obliterated, there remained nothing to guide the few wayfarers to what is still by far the easiest way up and down the hill. It was forgotten and deserted, and therefore undisturbed.

### THE ROAD TO SEAFORD.

On the brow of the hill the upper end of the 'Rabbit-walk' makes a junction with the Toy farm road, at something like a right-angle, but the direct line was also projected straight on towards Firle beacon, quickly falling into the mediaeval greenway and coinciding for some 2½ miles with that branch of it which went to Exceat bridge. Traffic, and the continued activities of flint-diggers, have erased all external traces of this road between the 'Rabbit-walk' and the Beacon, but there remains on the line a broad, shallow trench extending for some distance, and suggesting that the metal has been grubbed. Further on the trail becomes again a recognisable road, although there is no 'agger,' heading due south for the site of the Roman cemetery at Seaford. From the barrow called Firle Lords' burgh onward to Black Stone the road coincides with a parish-boundary (Alciston-Bishopstone). At Black Stone the mediaeval trail diverges to the south-east, but the Roman road, although entirely obliterated for three-quarters of a mile by the East Blatchington golf links, is presently

[1] R. Budgen's *Map of Sussex* (1724).

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represented by the line of a fence, and a little further on reappears in its proper form just where a ruined cattle-shed abuts upon the fence. From this point onward it is easily traceable, passing beside Sutton place, and through the adjacent farm-yard, whence it is incorporated in a modern road direct to its destination.[1] Where the original Roman work remains measurable it has a width of 10 feet, and it is to be noticed that its presence unquestionably determined the position both of Sutton farm and of the cattle-shed, the builders obviously availing themselves of so hard and clean an approach. Other examples of the same thing will be cited presently.

### TOY FARM TO PORTSLADE.

The measurements and construction of this line of road show that it was in no sense as important as that which ran across Toy farm, and the reason is plain. It served only a small settlement, which was moreover a terminus, and for such purposes a second-grade road would be sufficient. The Toy farm road, however, from its dimensions, was one of the first rank, a 'via publica,' and although it has not as yet been possible to make out its actual course south of Firle Lords' burghs, a glance at the map will show that it can have had but one objective; it must have crossed the Ouse and continued along the coast by way of Newhaven and Rottingdean, through Brighton to Portslade. In all likelihood it went straight on thence to Chichester, its western course being more than hinted at by various discoveries made near Chichester and Aldingbourne, by the lie of parish boundaries, and by the name of the village of Ford. Roman remains are ubiquitous upon the line all the way from Portslade to Newhaven, but thereafter they are lacking, obliterated one must suppose by the alterations in the course of the Ouse, by the construction of the railway, and by the operations of cement-workers and jerry-builders at Denton and South Heighton. Nevertheless there remain certain facts which, taken collectively,

[1] Messrs. Price, in their articles on the Seaford cemetery, noticed the course of this road as far only as Sutton place, leaving its northward extension unexplained

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are sufficient to justify the belief that this was the course of the Roman road. Before the coming of the railway altered its character, Newhaven (Meeching, as it was originally called) was a tiny village straggling along one street down to the river, which was crossed, not by the present bridge beside the station, but by another lying in the direct line a little way to the north, where the construction of a recent cut has made what to-day is called 'the Island.'[1] The Island is covered by warehouses, and between this and the railway lies a labyrinth of sidings, but the line is at once resumed in a road leading direct to the foot-hills at Denton. This road originally joined Denton directly with the old bridge, and at this point the passage of the flat lands is shortest, about 1,050 yards only. At Denton an opening in the hills leads up to a long and gradual ascent known as Gardener's hill, along which is carried another road north-eastward by Norton hovel towards Alciston. Norton hovel stands upon what appears to have been the site of a Romano-British settlement, and certain features in the construction of the road, no less than its course, suggest that it is certainly as old as the Roman time. It was therefore a branch thrown off at Denton by the trunk-line, which would pass naturally up the valley on the north of Gardener's hill to Toy farm. It is true that, the bottom of the Ouse being hard throughout its lower course, the river might have been crossed anywhere between Itford and Newhaven, but that it was so crossed is unlikely in view of the increasing width of the flat land as one goes north from Newhaven, the lie of the hills on the eastern side of the valley, and the orientation of the fragment of the road surviving on Toy farm. Moreover there is no trace of any corresponding road upon the western side of the valley save that suggested,[2] namely the original street of old Meeching, which continued pretty well in the required line towards Rottingdean.

[1] *Map of the river Ouse*, engraved for the Commissioners of the Levels, by J. W. W(oolgar), 1842. It contains an inset plan of Newhaven.

[2] Old maps show a roadway leading across the flats by way of Durham farm, marking it as 'Stock ferry.' There is nothing about it to suggest Roman work, and there is no means of bringing it into relation with the Toy farm road. The name suggests that it was used by the sheep-farmers of a century or two ago, to move their flocks from one pasturage to another.

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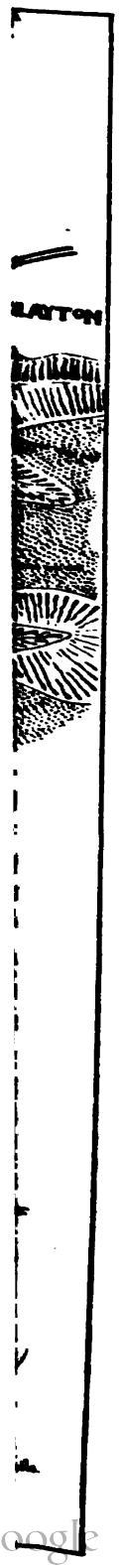

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THE BRIDLE-PATH AT THE DEVIL'S DYKE.

Portslade means 'Port's road.' The explanation is an old one, and has the support of the latest authority.[1] Whether or not it ever bore the name of Portus Adurni, it was unquestionably a place of importance in Roman times, for it was the starting-point of another road[2] which ran northward by Hangleton house in a straight line to the Dyke hovel and onwards. From a point half a mile north of Hangleton house the road coincides with a parish-boundary for 1½ miles, and there are several barrows along its course. Five hundred yards short of Poynings place farm the direct line is lost in cultivated land, but the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that it went on to descend the northern face of the Downs 'considerably to the left (i.e. west) of the Devil's dyke, or Poor man's wall, on the descent of the old road to Claydon (sc. Clayton).' He uses the term Devil's dyke in its proper sense, denoting the great south-western 'vallum' of the British camp, the 'Poor man' being a Sussex euphemism for the devil. That the road did continue in this direction is highly probable, for the point at which it would reach the brow of the hill coincides with the point reached by the projection of another ancient (? Roman) road coming by way of Mount Sion and Fulking corner; and I believe it descended the hill by the line of what is now known as Fulking Borstall.

From the other side of the county comes another accepted Roman road from the neighbourhood of London by way of the Caterham valley to Godstone, and thence by Wakehurst place to St. John's common, Burgess Hill.[3] Although its precise course from that point southward has not been proved, there are the best of reasons for believing that it ran in a straight line on past the Roman cemetery at Stonepound (Hassocks) straight to Coldharbour farm under the northern slopes of Wolstonbury hill. There is an old road in the grass field immediately

[1] R. G. Roberts, *Place-Names of Sussex*.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1818, pp. 107–8.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, pp. 306–307. It was found on St. John's common in 1779, '18–20 ft. wide, and made of flints laid to a depth of 8 inches.' The material was grubbed to pave the present London–Brighton road by way of Clayton hill.

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north of this farm, which lies in the required line, and passing through the farm-yard continues as a metalled lane to the east-to-west road now connecting Clayton with Danny park. That its ultimate objective was at Portslade has never been questioned, but how it was carried up and over the Downs, and where, if one existed, was the missing link connecting it with the road from Portslade by Hangleton house towards the Devil's dyke, are problems which have never been satisfactorily answered, in spite of the efforts of the antiquaries of a century and a quarter.[1] The analogies provided by the 'Rabbit-walk' furnish at once the answers required.

From the point, just north of the Dyke hovel, at which the direct line of the Portslade–Hangleton road is lost, a hard cart-way diverges to the right passing through the yard of Poynings place farm. Projected for a few yards it would fall direct into the modern high-road to Saddlescombe and coincide therewith for some 300 yards, i.e. to the point at the head of the Devil's dyke valley where that high-road swings to the right to descend the slope of Summer Down into Saddlescombe. Precisely at this point commences a green terrace-way[2] which threads the entire length of the eastern side of the valley, and crossing the little stream at its mouth, continues on round the foot of Newtimber hill to Poynings. Here it traverses the grass field in which stands Poynings place, and the evidence of the ground suggests that the original house once stood actually upon the road, precisely as do Poynings place farm and Hangleton house, the three being the only old homesteads on the whole line between Coldharbour farm and Portslade For some hundreds of yards it continues as a foot-path overgrown with coppice, and so runs direct into the road (Beggar's lane) leading to Newtimber. Beggar's lane is a modern reconstruction of the older road. Passing Newtimber park it crosses the high-road (from Brighton to London by way of Bolney) near a spot known as Cherry hurst, where an immense chalk-quarry has destroyed it for some

[1] In *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* xvi, 176 (1862), is mentioned a theory that the road passed by way of the Devil's dyke and Saddlescombe, but it is not stated who was the author of the theory, nor is any evidence adduced to support it.

[2] O.S. (6-ins.) Sussex east, LII, S.E.

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distance ; but on the eastern edge of the quarry it reappears as a narrow gamekeeper's foot-path, skirted on either side by the relics of very ancient hedges, and pointing almost due east continues straight on under the slopes of Wolstonbury hill until it falls into the east-to-west road from Clayton to Danny park, and so reaches the St. John's common–Coldharbour road. A parish boundary follows this line from the head of the Devil's dyke valley to its junction with Beggar's lane ; another coincides with it from Cherry hurst onward to its junction with the Coldharbour road. From the slopes of Newtimber hill immediately overlooking Poynings place has come a remarkable earthenware costrel in the form of a barrel,[1] and other Roman pottery, building tiles, plaster, etc.

For long stretches this is a hard road of unmistakably ancient make, and excepting where. modern work has overlaid it, it may be seen and trodden almost from end to end. Nor is its course so devious as it sounds : the crow-flight line from Coldharbour farm to the road-head by the Dyke hovel is 3½ miles, while the route by Cherry hurst and Poynings adds only a quarter of a mile to this total. On the other hand, the aggregate of the ascents to be negotiated along the crow-flight line is more than 1,000 feet, whereas that of the Cherry hurst–Poynings road is not 600 feet.

The total length of the terrace along the side of the Devil's dyke valley is over 1,000 yards. At the lower end, where the fall of the hill-side is comparatively gentle, the floor is 24 feet across, and well preserved. As it ascends the terrace grows narrower, because the fall of the hill becomes more and more abrupt, until it is almost lost near the head of the valley. Of its being identical in origin with its companion on Firle hill I feel no doubt whatever : it shows the same careful gradient, the same clean edge on the outer side, the same absence of any retaining bank, the same slight slope from inner to outer edge, and like the 'Rabbit-walk' it is cut out and embanked upon the slope of the hill. That this is so is proved in a remarkable fashion at a point about midway, where the made earth has slipped for several feet, dividing

[1] Described and illustrated in *Brighton and Hove Archaeologist* (1914), p. 40.

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the floor of the road lengthwise into two strips: one of these preserves the proper gradient, and represents that part of the terrace which is cut out of the solid hill-side; the other represents the part embanked upon the hill.

It will not be out of place to remark that the precise course of this road north of Godstone towards Croydon has not been satisfactorily determined. It has been suggested to me by Mr. Albany Major that it followed the line of a terrace-way observable for some miles along the eastern side of the valley. In places this measures upwards of 30 feet wide, and it is so smooth that, where it passes through the gardens of the villas about Warlingham, it is sometimes made use of as a lawn. That it is of artificial origin there is as little reason to doubt as in the case of the Devil's dyke terrace-way; and if sufficient reason can be adduced for believing that to be Roman work, the Warlingham terrace may reasonably be referred to the same orgin.

The local name for the terrace-way at the Devil's dyke is the 'Bridle-path.' It is nowhere so well preserved as is the 'Rabbit-walk,' and the reason is not far to seek: it has carried, and still carries, very much more traffic. This has never been wheeled traffic, as the smooth surface at the lower end testifies, and from this fact one infers that at its upper end it was never wide enough to invite a modern cart, or at any rate that it had ceased to be so wide when wheeled traffic was revived. Horses have done most of the damage here, abetted by the tendency of the chalk hill to 'creep.' 'Creep' may develop on any steep slope, and that it has not occurred at Firle hill is a fortunate accident. At the Devil's dyke it did occur, and naturally where the slope was steepest, i.e. at the upper end of the terrace. In consequence the roadway became blocked to such an extent that no cart could use it; and the face of the valley being from one end to the other too steep to allow of any deviation from the path, the entire terrace went out of use save for pedestrians and a few horse-folk coming over from Brighton for a gallop. Also the terrace proved a convenient means of access to the arables on the hill-top. These, the land of Poynings place farm, have long been farmed by the occupant of Saddlescombe, and his heavy teams have tramped up and down it for

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years going to and from their work. This alone would have wrought great damage, but the mischief has been aggravated tenfold by the action of the roadman who deliberately diverted the surface-water from the modern Saddlescombe road so that it ran into the terrace-way. The scour of this water has played havoc with the floor of the terrace, cutting as deep as 3 feet in places. If there had been no horse-traffic to break the turf, the water would have drained off direct into the valley below, and this is why the Roman engineer sloped his terrace from up-hill to down-hill side; but horse-traffic having once broken the turf and formed ever so narrow a tread in the surface, the water of necessity followed this, and scoured it into an ever-deepening channel. About mid-way, however, as the map shows, the valley makes almost a right-angled bend. This bend prevented the further spread of the damage, for it gave the water a chance at last to get off the road. From the top of the valley to the bend the terrace is mauled almost beyond recognition; below the bend it is little damaged, and near the mouth of the valley, as has been said, it is virtually intact. Even the passing of the cart-horses has not broken it there, because the width of the terrace is such that it is not needful for the animals to follow exactly in one another's tracks. Their footfalls, scattered over a surface 24 feet wide, have not even broken the turf.

Budgen's map (1724) shows that the head of the Devil's dyke valley was an important junction of the traffic of the time, the great east-to-west trunk-route here intersecting other trails which came up from Clayton and Pyecombe by Saddlescombe and so on to the passage of the Adur at Old Shoreham. Luckily this traffic all avoided the Roman terrace-way, and followed a line more or less identical with that of the modern Saddlescombe high road. Otherwise the 'Bridle-path' would have lost even more of those features which stamp it the fellow of the 'Rabbit-walk.'

Here then is a second case in which a terrace-way of peculiar construction provides the connecting link between two otherwise disconnected sections of Roman road. This may justifiably be claimed as proof of the argument that both terrace-ways are Roman work, nor is there any sufficient reason why their Roman origin should

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be denied. Even if it were still maintained that both are natural formations, though their character and construction is wholly opposed to such an origin, it would still, I think, have to be admitted that the Roman availed himself of them and incorporated them in his road-system.

### BRIGHTON—KINGSTON HILL—GLYNDEBOURNE CROSSWAY.

Since the writer first drew attention to the matter there have been brought to his notice some half-dozen other hill-roads upon the South Downs, which, upon examination, may very possibly prove to be of the same origin. It is certainly a curious fact that in all but one case they are situated exactly where other evidence suggested that one should look for a Roman road. The one exception deserves consideration, because it seems to bear out the writer's belief that the recognition of such terrace-ways may quite possibly lead to the determination of other Roman roads where they have never been suspected.

The case in question is on Kingston hill,[1] 1½ miles south-west of Lewes. The hill juts out squarely like the corner of a box from the mass of downs behind Rottingdean, and after falling steeply for 300 feet trends more gradually downward, throwing out a long outlier, known as Ashcombe ridge, in the direction of Southerham and the massif of Mount Caburn. An old road, known by the name of 'Jugg's road,' follows this ridge.[2] At the one end it runs into the main street of Southover, skirting the site of the ancient priory of St. Pancras; at the other end it runs up to the commencement of the steeper slope of Kingston hill. Here, however, it divides: one branch ('Jugg's road') climbs up its northern face and continues westwards over the downs to Brighton by way of Newmarket farm and the Race hill[3]; the other climbs the eastern face and points southward as if making

[1] O.S. (6-ins.) Sussex east, LXVI, N.E.

[2] 'Jugg' is said to be a local name for the Brighton fishermen, and the trail is said to have got its name from the fact that those fishermen used it when bringing their fish for sale in Lewes. That traffic must have ceased to be of any importance nearly a century ago.

[3] It probably continued on the line of what are now Elm grove and New England road into the present Old Shoreham road, keeping to the dry ground north of the old arm of the sea now represented by the Old Steine.

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for Newhaven or for Rottingdean. There are several barrows on Kingston hill, and it is noteworthy that the two largest lie just where the two terraces reach the brow of the hill.

Neither of these terraces bears at first sight the slightest resemblance to the 'Rabbit-walk,' or even to its less well preserved fellow the 'Bridle-path.' On the contrary both are superficially very like the average hill-way, differing one from the other only in that, whereas the western branch is still occasionally used for wheeled traffic, and is therefore in places worn deeply into the chalk, the eastern branch has long since reverted to the turf. A more careful examination, however,

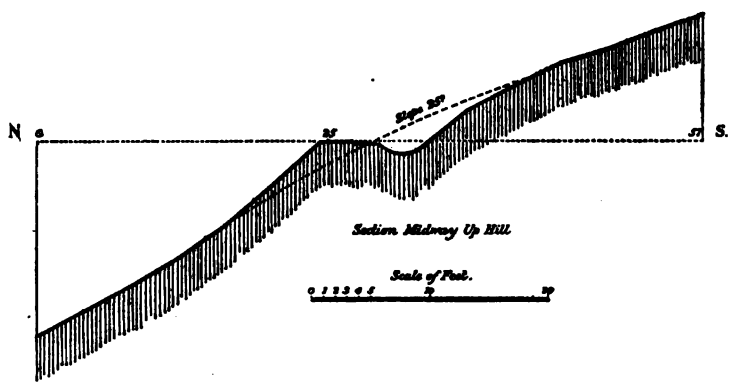


FIG. 4. SECTION OF TERRACE-WAY ON KINGSTON HILL, WEST.

discloses in both certain peculiarities which justify a different conclusion.

Of the western branch, badly mutilated as it is, little will be said. At the upper and the lower end alike it is deeply sunk in the hill, but whereas the 'holloway' at the lower end is the natural and obvious result of wheeled traffic, that at the upper end is to all seeming due for the most part to the original engineers. The smooth contour of the hill-side is here broken by a sort of buttress. The ordinary 'holloway' would simply have climbed over this obstacle; the Roman, it might be supposed, would have carried his terrace-way round its face. The actual road takes neither course, but is carried *through* the buttress by a deliberate cutting sunk sufficiently deep

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to maintain the average gradient of the whole terrace. Another example of such a cutting will be described in the sequel, and a better-known parallel may be found on the admitted line of the Portslade–London road at Godstone. Here, just north of the village, the Roman road is carried through a much larger cutting for a distance of three furlongs, with much less reason than was present at Kingston hill.[1] Here is given (fig. 4) a section of the western terrace-way on Kingston hill at a point immediately below the cutting, and it will be seen that it shows the same clean-cut edge, and the same absence of parapet, as were noticed in the 'Rabbit-walk' and the 'Bridle-path,' while traffic has at this spot done but little damage to the floor.

For the purposes of this article the other (eastern) terrace is more illuminating, because less exceptional and less altered. The first of its peculiarities to strike the eye is its perfect gradient, much too perfect to be the outcome of any accident. The second is the presence, upon the down-hill side, of a continuous bank or parapet, smooth and even, with a clean-cut outer edge, and of a uniform width of some 3 feet only (fig. 5). Now the presence of an outer bank is an invariable feature of every accidental hill-way. Such hill-ways being merely exaggerated ruts worn into the face of the hill, like any other rut they must of necessity have two sides enclosing them. Occasionally also the outer bank or parapet of such a hill-way, having been found to be a convenient footway, will be trodden to a certain degree of flatness and smoothness. But no amount of tread could possibly produce a continuous strip of lawn-like turf, smooth as a floor and of one uniform width for many scores of yards, uniform too in its gradient, and always presenting the same unbroken edge. Still less could it produce another feature, namely, a uniform, if slight, slope from the up-hill to the down-hill side. The spirit-level proves the existence of such a slope here, exactly as it proves it in the 'Rabbit-walk.'

In fig. 6 are given two sections of the Roman terrace-way on Glatting down (Stane street), which at once

[1] Hilaire Belloc notices two similar cuttings on the course of the Stane street, the one at Ashurst between Coldwaltham and Petworth, the other between Alfoldean and Dorking (*The Stane Street*, pp. 236, 258–259).

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explain what has occurred on Kingston hill. At some period not very remote the terrace-way on Glatting down was found to be a convenient means of approach to a large chalk-pit, and the passing of carts to and fro had the inevitable consequence: it broke through the original floor of the terrace and gradually wore out a 'holloway' along it, in some places as much as five feet deep; but the slope of Glatting down being relatively

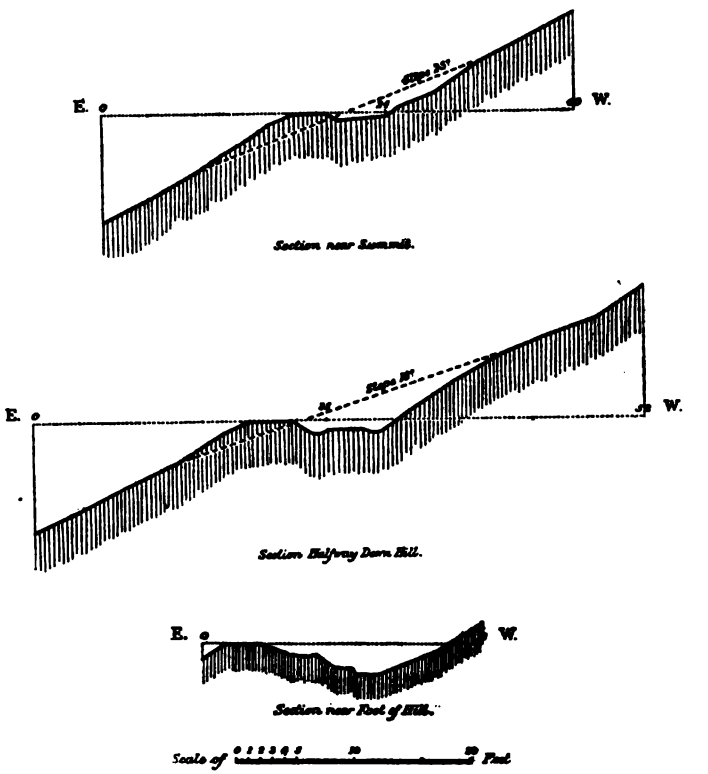


FIG. 5. SECTIONS OF TERRACE-WAY ON KINGSTON HILL, EAST.

gentle, the Roman had here been able to construct so spacious a terrace, that there still remains unbroken a part of the original floor. One of the sections in fig. 6 shows this surviving only upon the outer side of the roadway, the other shows it surviving on both sides; and a dotted line joining the two would represent the original appearance of the Roman's work.

Something similar has occurred in the case of the

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eastern terrace on Kingston hill, of which three sections are given (fig. 5). The peculiar stepping of the 'holloway' is the result of horse-traffic, for there is no sign, and no memory, of any wheeled vehicle having ever used this path. The tread of horses has worn away the surface of what was once a terrace like the 'Rabbit-walk' or like that on Glatting down, leaving intact a

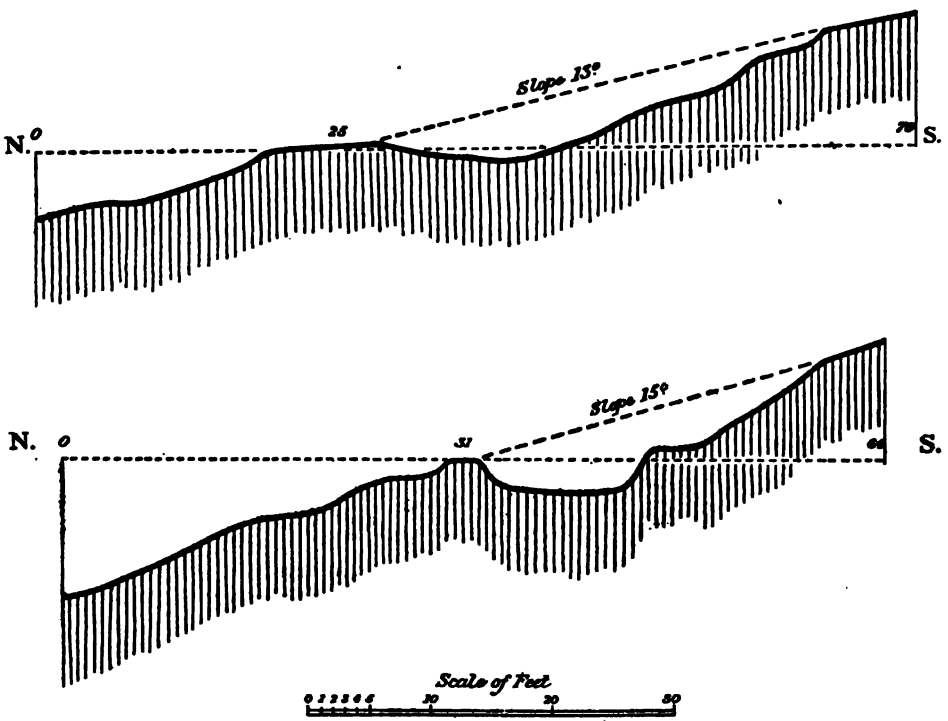


FIG. 6. SECTIONS OF TERRACE-WAY (STANE STREET) ON GLATTING DOWN.

(The lower fig. shows part of the original Roman floor preserved on each side of the holloway).

strip of it only. Upon a steep slope the traffic instinctively hugs the up-hill side, exactly as is illustrated by the position of the horse-tread on the 'Rabbit-walk,' and in consequence the destruction of the original surface proceeds gradually from the inner to the outer edge of the roadway. Happily it ceased on Kingston hill, while there yet remained that tell-tale 3-foot strip of the original floor which now forms the parapet of the resultant 'holloway.' Incidentally the sections illustrate another

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feature of all hill-ways, namely, that a 'holloway' decreases in depth as one nears the top of the hill. And it will be noticed also that here, as in the case of the 'Bridle-path,' the original terrace-way was much wider at the lower end than at the upper, because of the diminishing steepness of the hill-side.

If this reasoning is sound, the eastern terrace on Kingston hill is another example of Roman engineering. How far do other facts corroborate this conclusion? At the foot of the hill the two terraces unite, as has been said, in the old road along Ashcombe ridge. This road has all the characteristics of Roman work; it is hard, straight, and laid out to follow the axis of a ridge leading towards the river Ouse at Southerham. A parish-boundary runs beside the road for a mile. The road passes the priory of St. Pancras, a fact of a certain significance; and on the site of the priory, or along the line of the road thereto, have been picked up a large proportion of the few Roman coins preserved in the museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society at Lewes. Between the priory and the river the road is represented by the modern Ham lane, which is to-day a cul-de-sac, the low ground between this and the foot-hills beyond the river having been entirely altered by the embanking of the river and the construction of the railway. On the opposite bank, however, commences another road, in the required line, which threads the long valley running up through the Caburn massif towards Saxon down. In this valley (Oxteddle[1] bottom) Gideon Mantell dug up a large number of Roman urns about 1820,[2] and its slopes are still covered with that peculiar type of small and rectangular lynchet which, in this part of Sussex, is generally associated with Romano-British remains. Here, too, is the undated rectangular earthwork known

[1] So named from its having once contained an ox-stall (*steddle*, Lincs. and Kent, 'a stall'), the foundations of which are still visible in the form of a three-sided rectangular earthwork, at the northern foot of Ranscombe hill. The work measures 80 feet in length and 24 feet broad, i.e. it represents stall-room for ten pairs of oxen allowing to each pair the standard space of 8 feet. There is another of these works on the floor of the Devil's dyke valley, of the same breadth, but of a length of 96 feet, i.e. to accommodate twelve pairs of oxen. It is to be noticed that the stall in Oxteddle bottom lies actually *upon* the Roman road, like the byre at Sutton and the farm-building of Hangleton house and Poynings place farm.

[2] Horsfield, *Hist. of Sussex*, i, 48. Unhappily it seems impossible to trace what has become of these, and their discoverer appears to have left no record of the particulars.

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anciently as 'The Devil's book' and latterly as 'The Bible,' while the Late-Celtic fortress on Mount Caburn, and its older fellow Ranscombe camp, overhang the valley from the south. The roadway is in some places a turf-grown terrace and in others visibly metalled; a section cut across it disclosed a well-made bed of flint, 6 feet wide and 6–9 inches in thickness. It crosses the saddle of the hill at Saxon down by a cutting some 90 yards in length and 12 feet in depth at the maximum; and this cutting is the purposed work of engineers, no accidental 'holloway.' The tread of the later mediaeval pack-trails which cross the line has filled up the cutting to a depth of 3 to 4 feet, proving the latter to be very much the older work; and if the silting is removed, the original floor of the cutting (which was not metalled) is at once exposed, smoothly cut in the solid chalk, 8 feet wide, and having the angles at either side still clean and unbroken. Beyond the cutting the road continues for a short distance as a terrace-way very similar to that on Kingston hill, passes immediately beside another rectangular earthwork of which the maps take no account,[1] and falls direct into a remarkable straight green-road known by the suggestive name of 'Week lane,' 550 yards in length and 22 feet wide,[2] so reaching the Glynde–Ringmer road at the point called Glyndebourne crossway. Week lane is a parish-boundary. Beyond the crossway the road is continued in the same line, pointing for the high ground of Crowborough.[3] At the crossway were found in 1879 a series of Saxon interments,[4] and the surface-mould is full of fragments of Romano-British pottery.

It can hardly be that the road from Kingston hill to the western bank of the Ouse, and that from its eastern bank to Glyndebourne crossway, should so aptly correspond unless they were parts of one and the same route, and connected by a ford or ferry upon the river. The position of the priory of St. Pancras certainly suggests

[1] Local opinion declares this earthwork to be the site of a mediaeval homestead, but it is possibly very much older, for (1) the road appears to overlie the fosse of the work, (2) the soil is full of Romano-British pottery, and (3) the work encloses a perfect little barrow. There appears, however, to have stood within it a very recent farm-building.

[2] It was required by law that a Roman road should be very much wider at a crossway or other turning.

[3] O.S. (6-ins.) Sussex east, LIV, S.E. The only portion of the line shown upon the O.S. is that eastward along Week lane. The various trackways and earthworks about Mount Caburn are for the most part ignored.

[4] *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* XXXIII (1883).

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that in mediaeval times there existed at this point some such means of reaching the other bank; and what was practicable in mediaeval times cannot have been impracticable to the Romans. It is perhaps hopeless to expect that actual proof of the matter will ever be forthcoming, seeing that the railway has caused, and the river has suffered, so many alterations; but it must be remembered that the Roman was quite familiar with other means of crossing a stream than bridges and fords. Ovid speaks of that form of ferry-boat familiar to University men as a 'grind':

> Amnis, arundinibus limosas obsite ripas,
> Ad dominam propero; siste parumper aquas.
> Nec tibi sunt pontes, *nec quae, sine remigis ictu,*
> *Concava traiecto cymba rudente vehat.*
>
> *Amores*, III, vi, 1.

It is at any rate matter of history that at no very remote period the river traffic of Lewes was centred just at this spot, a long way from the modern bridge; while yet more recently (about 1820) there was a strong movement in favour of constructing a bridge here and carrying the traffic of the Eastbourne–Lewes road direct across the river into Southover, so as to avoid the awkward approaches and narrow dimensions of the Cliffe bridge. The extreme distance between the river bank at Southerham and the present termination of Ham lane is some 500 yards.[1]

### GLYNDE—GLYNDEBOURNE CROSSWAY—HAMSEY.

The present-day Glynde–Ringmer road represents a series of reconstructions. The original Roman road appears to have connected, almost upon the site of the present church of Glynde, with that leading to ford (A) and the causeway and so towards Firle hill. From this point it followed in the other direction a course slightly west of north almost direct to Glyndebourne crossway. Bishop Trevor, who rebuilt the church (1763–1765), also deflected this road so that it now lies a little to the west

[1] Immediately contiguous to the road, where it passes Lewes railway-station, lies the large mound called the Mount, commonly asserted to have been constructed by the monks of St. Pancras priory as a calvary. To all appearance it is a Norman 'motte,' and if it be admitted that the road is indeed Roman, the otherwise unaccountable position of such a work is at once explained. In Sussex, at any rate, Norman castle-mounts, like Domesday manors, are valuable clues to the course of Roman roads.

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of the original line, the latter being preserved in the private road (the 'Bishop's walk') through the grounds of Glynde place, with which the older buildings and offices of the mansion are aligned. At Lacy's corner the two lines coalesce again for some 300 yards, when the modern road turns to the right and presently curves back towards the crossway along the western wall of the grounds of Glyndebourne house. The older road ran straight on, and is to-day represented by a field-way passing just west of Glyndebourne farm, where it comes to a stop. There is no reason to doubt that it was continued in the same line across the fields to the crossway, but this ground having been long under cultivation before it was parked, no trace of the road is visible, unless it be the presence of a gateway in the fence to the north, exactly at the point assumed. Again coalescing with the modern road it crossed Week lane and descended the further side of Glyndebourne hill in a due north-west direction. A fragment of the old road—a terrace-way—can be seen close beside 'Reservoir cottages.' The cottages were built to accord with it, and like it they stand some feet above the new road. The new road now again bears to the right, but the old road projected follows the course of an old hedge, a parish boundary, and a field-road, as far as the modern Lewes–Ringmer road, and crossing this, reappears as the remarkably straight by-road leading to Upper and Lower Stoneham.[1] Here it reaches the water-meadows of the Ouse immediately opposite to the rising ground on the other side of the river where stands Hamsey church. There must have been a ford or ferry here in Roman times, as there is to-day. There are men alive now who were wont to drive their cattle across at that spot. The line, if continued, would aim direct for the village of Street. This village occurs as Estrat in Domesday, and unquestionably points to the presence of a 'street' in the locality. I find in the Manuscript of W. Wisdom the statement that in his time (about 1800) the tradition of Glynde was that 'the Romans crossed the Ouse at Hamsey.'[2]

[1] From Glyndebourne crossway onward the field-fences are all laid out in relation to this line of road, and without regard to the course of the modern highways.

[2] This is a few yards above the point on the Ouse marked as 'highest limit of ordinary tides.'

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### GLYNDEBOURNE CROSSWAY—CROWBOROUGH.

It can hardly be supposed that a Roman road running from Portslade by Newhaven over Toy farm should have had for its real objective such a point as Street. The line from Glyndebourne crossway by Hamsey must represent merely a cross-road, and the course of the main road must be looked for at the crossway, in the north-eastward continuation of Week lane, which is intact for some 500 yards, demarcated by old hedgerows long since overgrown so as to cover the whole road. Where this road is measurable it is 14 feet across, but it is evident that it has at this point been encroached upon by the plough, for the over-all width of the double hedgerow elsewhere is as much as 36 feet. Fragments of pottery are numerous all along its course. As marked upon the ordnance map the bearing of this line is 27° E. of N, which is identical with that of the road on Toy farm. The reason for the devious course of the road from Firle hill to the crossway is to be found in the two facts that, firstly, the low ground of Laughton level prevented, and still prevents, the construction of any firm way in the direct line, and secondly, only from this north-eastern side was there any approach to the insulated high ground about Mount Caburn which was permanently secure from flood.

### GLYNDE—SOUTH MALLING (MEDIAEVAL ?).

Local antiquaries, as has been remarked, commonly assert that the ford (A) and causeway at Glynde form part of a line of Roman road running from Lewes to Eastbourne or Pevensey. They suppose the road to have crossed the Ouse where now is the Cliffe bridge, to have climbed immediately up the face of Cliffe hill by way of the existing 'holloway,' and, following the high ground to Saxon down, to have swung thence to the right and descended direct into Glynde along another deep holloway, pointing directly to ford (A). Without committing oneself to the assertion that there was no such line of road in Roman times, it is quite permissible to point out reasons against it. In the first place, there being no evidence for the existence of a settlement on the site of Lewes in Roman times, there is no ground for assuming the existence of a road along this course; and the existence of such a road is the less likely if satis-

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factory evidence has been produced for the probable existence of others immediately to the north (Hamsey) and the south (Southerham). In the second place, it is extremely unlikely that there existed any regular means of passing the river at the foot of Cliffe hill. The present bridge cannot be shown to have existed before the thirteenth century, and the river here making a considerable loop to the east, the force of the current and the depth of the water must have been at their greatest at just this spot. To make a landing on the abrupt eastern bank here must have been a matter only more difficult than to find a way up the face of the hill. The bridge once constructed, and the river by implication more or less embanked, the case was completely altered, and mediaeval traffic gradually wore the existing holloway which leads up to the golf-links. But this holloway preserves no single feature to suggest a Roman origin. There is moreover a significant scarcity of barrows along the line proposed from the holloway to Saxon down. Of the mounds along the line from Saxon down towards Glynde the principal are merely the steads of old windmills, though it is quite possible that some of these were originally barrows, subsequently utilised as steads for mills; and the fact that there once were windmills on this hill as well as an old chalk-pit upon its eastern face, goes far to account for the depth of the holloway leading into Glynde. If any Roman roadway existed where is now that holloway, the joint trafficking of mediaeval pack-horses and later-day carts has cut it entirely away. The one argument in favour of the theory is the fact that the holloway aims direct for the Roman ford (A); but as there is no means of knowing at what date that ford went out of use in favour of the later ford (B) on the site of the modern bridge, it is quite conceivable that the trail had become already well defined and the holloway formed before the later ford came into use. It is, however, quite possible that a Roman by-way did take this course, to avoid the long detour by Glyndebourne cross-way; and it may quite conceivably have been continued beyond Saxon down, its objective being not Lewes, but the promontory of South Malling, where there was at one time a ford leading to Landport farm. The banks of the Ouse at this point offer no obstacle, the breadth

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of flat land to be crossed is small, and the river-bed is hard. Along this line there occur, on the ridge of the hill, a large number of barrows, but the character of the track on the descent of Malling hill is that of a mediaeval road only.[1] The line was continued behind the north-western extension of Lewes known as the Wallands, whence have come a few Roman coins, and so up the downs past Mount Harry, as local antiquaries (e.g. Horsfield) have asserted.

Those who are accustomed to the painful, if enthralling, amusement of endeavouring to trace Roman roads, will at once ask why there has not been taken the obvious first step towards proving these terrace-ways on Firle hill and at the Devil's dyke to be Roman ways, why no sections have been cut across them to lay bare the road-metal. The answer is, that apparently they never were metalled, so that this seemingly facile and conclusive method of proof is not here applicable. Experimental investigation of the Glatting down terrace has revealed nothing that could properly be called metalling,[2] and if this be the case with so important a trunk-line as the Stane street, it need be no matter of surprise to find it so in the case of lesser roads. Neither the 'Bridle-path' nor the 'Rabbit-walk' shows any signs of metal, unless it were the very thinnest sprinkling of gravel or small flints beaten into the surface. Nor is it possible to believe that they were once more heavily metalled, and that the metal has been grubbed, because in the first place it is not credible that such grubbing could have left a terrace so smooth, uniform, and regular, as is the 'Rabbit-walk,' and in the second place there was no room for much metal. So narrow is that terrace-way that, even if it were not systematically constructed with a slope to the down-hill side, the metal, if laid to any appreciable depth, would simply have rolled off down-hill. The only means to prevent this would have been to dig out the terrace as a holloway, leaving on the outer

[1] The church of St. Michael, South Malling, is reputed originally to have been founded by Ceadwalla of Wessex in 688, a date long prior to any known evidence for the existence of Lewes as a town. The manor, which was an important one, belonged to the see of Canterbury, and the Benedictine monks of South Malling long ante-dated the Cluniac priory of St. Pancras in Southover. It was probably to their presence that this line of road was due.

[2] 'Its surface was apparently not covered with a layer of stones, for in no part of it examined did we find any evidence that the surface had been made up in any way.' Eliot Curwen, in *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* lvii, 145.

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edge a balk of chalk to serve as a retaining-bank to hold the metal in place. Had this been done, one of two results must have followed : either the metal, if ungrubbed, would be found in situ, or if grubbed, would have left a holloway. But there is no metal in situ, and the terraces show no sign of hollowness, except such as can be otherwise accounted for. It is difficult to see any other alternative. By what means the traffic of Roman times negotiated in wet weather a terrace-way carved upon the slope of a chalk hill, however gentle its gradient, is a question more easy to ask than to answer. It has been suggested that the floor was possibly covered with timbers laid transversely in the fashion of a corduroy-track. So far there is forthcoming no evidence either for or against this theory. It is not impossible that the original turf of the hill, removed in the process of making the terrace-way, may have been replaced thereafter. That such a course would be eminently practical is proven by the fact that, at the present time, these smooth and sloping track-ways with their carpet of ancient turf are yet the easiest ways up and down the hills, be the weather never so bad.

Postscript.—Since the foregoing was completed there has vanished beyond recovery one important piece of evidence, namely the strip of original Roman road-surface which, as shewn in fig. 6, had until then survived intact upon the inner (up-hill) side of the Stane street terrace-way, proving what had been its original form and dimensions. It has been entirely destroyed within the measure of a single year by the unhappy, and mostly futile, method adopted in 'repairing' these deep-worn holloways of the chalk hills, that is, by pulling down further material from their sides to fill up the ruts. Fortunately the section, for which I am indebted to Dr. Eliot Curwen, was made (1914) before the mischief was done, and, I may add, at a time when neither Dr. Curwen nor I suspected how valuable it was to prove in suggesting the Roman origin of the terrace-ways on Kingston hill, and, by consequence, of the line of road thence to Glyndebourne crossway.

Nor is this all. The 'Rabbit-walk' itself, which a twelvemonth ago was virtually intact as the Romans left it, has now been discovered by the military, and there have passed up and down it during a single summer more horsemen than ever came and went in a century before. That they should have preferred it beyond any other of the hill-ways about may be taken as testimony to its admirable engineering, but this preference has already done great damage to the surface, and will probably do more. Within another five years the 'Rabbit-walk' may very likely be as sadly cut up as is the 'Bridle-path,' but as yet it still shows all the essential peculiarities noticed in the text.

*September* 1915.

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# THE WILL OF MASTER WILLIAM DOUNE, ARCHDEACON OF LEICESTER.[1]

By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, M.A. F.S.A.

The last will and testament of an archdeacon has formed the subject of at least one paper read before the Institute. At one of its earliest annual meetings some account was given of the will of Richard Ravenser, the famous archdeacon of Lincoln in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II.[2] The document with which the present paper is concerned is even more remarkable for the light which it throws upon the character and habits of another of the archdeacons of the church of Lincoln, belonging to the generation preceding that of Ravenser.[3] Only one copy of this will appears to be extant, and this unfortunately lacks its beginning and end. It is contained in a thick volume of miscellaneous documents, common forms, papal bulls, patterns of formal correspondence, drafts of legal processes, model harangues and sermons, and other useful material for the use of an ecclesiastical lawyer, which found its way into the diocesan registry at Peterborough in the sixties of the last century. The book appears to have been bought by the late Mr. Gates, then diocesan registrar, at a second-hand book-stall in the market-place. It was examined by the late bishop Jeune and Mr. H. O. Coxe, then Bodley's librarian, in 1866, and, being in a very tattered condition, was mended and bound. No suggestion has hitherto been made, within the knowledge of the present writer, as to its origin.[4] It was compiled for the most part early in the fifteenth century. The bulk of the documents which it contains, drawn from a variety of sources, belong to the period between 1380 and 1402, and none appears to be much later than 1405. On one of the last leaves are the *comperta* of a visitation of the rural deanery of Rochford in Essex,

[1] Read before the Institute, 3rd Nov. 1915.

[2] See *R.A.I.* Lincoln vol. 1848, pp. 312–27.

[3] Ravenser did not become archdeacon of Lincoln until 1368, some years after William Doune's death. He died in 1386 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, ii, 44).

[4] It has been examined within the last few years by Dr. R. L. Poole. The tentative conclusions here suggested as to its origin are the present writer's own.

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held at a date not given; and from these, evidently noted hastily upon a spare leaf, and from the fact that the larger part of its contents consists of documents relating to the ecclesiastical business of the southern dioceses of the province of Canterbury, it may have been compiled in part by or for Richard Prentys, archdeacon of Essex from 1400 to 1420.[1] This is put forward merely as a suggestion which is as incapable of being fully proved as it is of being rejected.

Large portions of the first third of this register, amounting to more than a hundred leaves, have entirely disappeared. Fo. 153, now numbered fo. 55, concludes a curious series of medical prescriptions, partly in French and partly in Latin. The next three leaves are gone, and on fo. 157, now fo. 56, we arrive at the middle of a sentence in a will, the only document of the kind in the book. The detailed nature of its legal provisions shews that it was regarded by the compiler of the volume as a model of its kind. It occupies six closely-written leaves, twelve small folio pages, and as fo. 163 [62] is missing, breaks off abruptly again in the middle of a sentence, to give place to elegant letters of condolence upon the death of a bishop and other persons of consequence, which may be recommended to those whose stock of unction, whether from overmuch use or natural defect, is apt to run dry on such occasions. The testator's name and place of burial are thus wanting, together with the date of the will and the place and date of probate, and the missing portions amount to nearly a quarter of the document. On reading the will, however, it soon becomes clear that the testator was an archdeacon of Leicester, and, on going somewhat further, it is obvious that the archdeacon in question was William Doune, who held the

[1] The career of Richard Prentys is somewhat complicated by the fact that there was a contemporary clerk of the same name, probably his uncle, canon of Salisbury and prebendary successively of Stratford and South Grantham, who died in 1416 (Lincoln epis. reg. xiv, f. 83: cf. Jones, *Fasti Ecc. Sar.* 386, *Cal. Pat.* 1416–1422, 49). Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 72, shews that the archdeacon exchanged his archdeaconry for the church of Winfrith Newburgh, Dorset, in September, 1420. One of the few documents in the register relating to the northern province is concerned with the chapter of Southwell (ff. 168, 169), of which the elder Richard Prentys was a member, holding the prebend of Dunham, c. 1410–16 (Le Neve, iii, 419). A large number refer to the dioceses of Winchester and London, and Salisbury and Worcester dioceses furnish many; but the evidence is too general to prove more than that the book belonged to a clerk, most likely an archdeacon, in one of the southern dioceses, probably London.

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office in the middle of the fourteenth century. If any doubt remains, it is cleared by one of the marginal notes in which his name is mentioned; and, on testing the details of the will by the corroborative evidence afforded by the Lincoln and Exeter registers, this becomes certain. After transcribing the document, which was copied somewhat mechanically and is not free from a good number of small textual errors, the present writer examined those sources with the result that it is possible to fix the date of the original will in the early part of the year 1361 and to co-ordinate some hitherto unnoticed facts relative to the life of the testator. Neither at Lincoln, Exeter, nor at Worcester, the centres of the three dioceses with which William Doune was connected, is there any copy of the document, nor is there one among the early wills at Somerset house or in the archiepiscopal registers at Lambeth. It is probable therefore that, wherever he obtained it, the care of a later clerk, who desired to model his own will on similarly thorough and careful lines, has been the sole preservative of this memorial of a dignitary of whom the few notices are singularly barren and inaccurate.

Some notes upon this will, with extracts, have already formed the subject of a paper in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports* for 1904, by the late Mr. A. Percival Moore, to whose researches in the Peterborough registry antiquaries are greatly indebted.[1] While, however, his notes, as became an excellent lawyer and antiquary, are of considerable value, he made no attempt to do anything more with regard to the testator himself than repeat the information given by Nichols, Le Neve and others, assuming that his name was Donne and that he lived till 1385, and, in spite of the abundant evidence of the will regarding his Devon origin, was inclined to think that he was a Buckinghamshire man. Mr. Moore's extracts, moreover, were evidently made hurriedly and are sometimes little more than an abstract, occasionally inaccurate, of the original, which the printers have further clouded by a multitude of small typographical errors. With characteristic modesty, Mr. Moore disclaimed any attempt to give his notes a complete and

[1] *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Reports*, xxvii, 503–524.

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final form, and, in giving the result of his own independent work upon the document to the Institute, together with a transcript the accuracy of which he has recently put to the closest test, the writer is aware that there are several points which await fuller investigation.

It is clear that William Doune was a native of Devon and that he was of gentle birth; but the actual place of his origin is uncertain. His father may have been Thomas Doune or Estdoune, who presented to the rectory of East Down, between Barnstaple and Combe Martin, in 1339[1]; but William refers to his father's son and heir by the name of Thomas, whereas the patron who presented to the same living in 1363, not long after William's death, is called Philip Doune.[2] Down Thomas, in the parish of Wembury, south Devon, is another possible place to which he may be assigned.[3] During the early part of the fourteenth century, there were several clerks of his name beneficed in the diocese of Exeter. John and Richard Doune were successive rectors of Lympstone, a church in the gift of the Courtenays of Powderham, earls of Devon.[4] Robert Doune was rector of Ringmore, on the south coast of Devon, in 1328–29,[5] and about the same period Thomas Doune held the living of St. John's-in-Cornwall, on the west side of Plymouth sound.[6] None of these can be connected with any certainty with William, and all of them apparently belonged to an older generation. Whoever his father was, it appears from a papal dispensation obtained by William in 1343 that he was illegitimate.[7] His mother, whether at the time of his birth or later, was the wife of a member of the family of Fitzwaryn, which held property in north Devon. Her son was Aymer Fitzwaryn, who seems to be identical with the escheator in Devon c. 1349–54, sheriff of the county at a later date,[8] and owned the advowson and part of the manor of Quainton, Bucks, in

[1] *Exeter epis. reg. Grandisson*, ed. Hingeston Randolph, iii, 1324.

[2] ibid. iii, 1494. For a notice of this family see Polwhele, *Hist. Devon*, iii, 399.

[3] John Pipard was lord of 'Doune Thomas' in 1316 (*Feudal Aids*, i, 381). Isabel Pipard, whose name figures largely in the will, was certainly a near relation of William.

[4] *Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. i, 475, 523; iii, 1330.

[5] ibid. i, 470.

[6] ibid. iii, 1289. Others occur ibid. *Reg. Stapeldon*, as rectors of Stoke Climsland, Goodleigh and Heanton Punchardon.

[7] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 112.

[8] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360–64, 460.

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1349. She also had a daughter Alice, who married one Robert Marchaunt and lived at Exeter. In addition to Thomas, already mentioned, William Doune refers to Thomas, son of Joan atte Pitte,[1] as his brother by blood. Three sisters, as well as the half-sister Alice, occur in the will, viz. Alice, married to one Bozoun of Dartmouth, by whom she had two sons; Thomasine Lovecok of Oxford[2] and Joan Waryn, each of whom had one son. All these three were dead when William made his will. His father's sister, Joan Lynham, was at that time still alive and had a son John and two daughters, Thomasine and Margaret.

It is probable that William Doune was born early in the fourteenth century, that he studied at Oxford and was a member of Merton college,[3] and that he became attached to the household of John Grandisson, or, as his contemporaries called him, Graunson, a few years after he became bishop of Exeter in 1327. As one of the bishop's clerks he became familiar with the procedure of the episcopal chancery, and among his bequests to the notary master Thomas Pepir, to whom he left his silver pen and inkhorn, was 'a quire [of paper] covered outside with white leather containing commissions made out in the court of Rome, letters apostolic, the procedure and terms used in causes in the court of Rome, propositions, articles and much other useful matter written almost entirely with my own hand, and containing in part a membrane of parchment wherein are written letters or copies of letters of commission and other letters of bishops, and certain other things which I got together in the days of my youth, when I was in the service of my lord bishop of Exeter.' The first mention of his name in Graunson's register is found in November 1332, when he was appointed in conjunction with the vicar of Sidmouth to hold a commission of inquiry into the vacancy of the church of Rockbeare.[4] He is here called 'donzel' (*domicellus*), which implies his gentle birth, and *literatus*, meaning that he had proved himself by examination of some

[1] Bishop Graunson appointed one John 'dictus atte Pitte' to act as his attorney in chancery in 1334 (*Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. ii, 747).

[2] Her husband, John Lovecok, seems to be mentioned as of Oxford in the will. See text below.

[3] This appears from a bequest in the will. Mr. Moore (see above) noted, from Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton college*, 176, the record of a pension of 20s. paid by the sub-warden to master William Downe in 1351.

[4] *Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. ii, 664.

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capacity in letters. From this time onwards he is mentioned frequently as in attendance upon the bishop, attesting probate of wills and accompanying him upon his journeys. In July 1336, for example, he was with Graunson on his visit of reconciliation to the church of St. Buryan near Penzance, where the bishop addressed the penitent parishioners who had opposed his jurisdiction from the text 'Ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.'[1] About 1340 he received his commission from the apostolic see as notary public and appears as Graunson's registrar. It is dated 17th June, 1340.[2] He signed the probate of the will of Hugh, earl of Devon, in February, 1340–41, as 'clerk, of the diocese of Exeter, notary public, and scribe of my lord of Exeter.'[3] While still in minor orders he began to receive the benefices which were the reward of a promising ecclesiastical lawyer. On 12th May, 1342, he was admitted to one of the portions in the church of St. Endellion, a sinecure without obligation of residence.[4] Soon after, on 27th June, he obtained a dispensation from the pope empowering him to hold an extra benefice,[5] and on 4th July, 1343, another dispensation permitted him, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, to hold three compatible benefices.[6] On 4th November, 1344, he obtained a cure of souls, being instituted to to the church of Georgeham, a few miles west of East Down, on the presentation of Sir Robert Cruwes and Jordan Vautord, the lords of Over and Nether Ham and Pickwell.[7] It seems that this institution was revoked until he had proceeded to further orders; for he was again instituted on 20th April, 1345, when we hear of him for the first time as a deacon. He had leave of absence for some eighteen months in order to study,[8] and, as this dispensation was renewed year after year till 1348,[9] during which time we hear little of him at Exeter, the fruits of the church of Georgeham, a remote parish unfavourable to the ambitions of a rising jurist, probably served to support its rector's legal studies at Oxford.

[1] ibid. ii, 821.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 549.
[3] *Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. ii, 940.
[4] ibid. iii, 1335.
[5] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 67.
[6] ibid. iii, 112.
[7] *Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. iii, 1345.
[8] ibid. ii, 992.
[9] ibid. ii, 1002, 1009, 1031, 1068.

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Such an arrangement, unnatural in our own day, was then a common practice. William Doune no doubt paid a curate a small stipend to look after his flock, and the curate, being necessarily in priest's orders, could perform the duties of his cure more satisfactorily than an erudite deacon.

Although his will gives a prominent place to Georgeham, he seems to have quitted the living about 1349. He had now graduated at Oxford as licentiate in civil law. During the great pestilence of 1349 the church of Quainton in Buckinghamshire, which was in the gift of his half-brother Aymer Fitzwaryn, fell vacant. He was presented to the living and instituted on 1st September at Thame in Oxfordshire.[1] Although he had been instituted to Georgeham as a deacon, he now appears only as an acolyte. On 18th October following he received papal provision of a canonry of Exeter, in which his church of Quainton and portion in St. Endellion are mentioned, but Georgeham finds no place.[2] The provision of the canonry, as regards a prebend and stall in quire, was merely expectative and does not seem to have taken full effect, as there is no further mention of it after the earlier part of 1351.[3] At Quainton Doune was in the diocese of Lincoln, and his merits as a lawyer received recognition from bishop Gynewell. Soon after 1349 he proceeded to his doctor's degree in civil law and to priest's orders. His long experience of diocesan routine at Exeter qualified him for the post of official of the bishop of Lincoln, which he obtained somewhere between 1349 and 1354. A papal indult of 16th June, 1351, excused him from residence in his benefices for five years, while studying at a university or residing at the Roman court or elsewhere; and on the same day he had licence to hold another benefice with his cure of souls, in extension of the dispensation of 1343, or even to be elected bishop.[4] There was no immediate sequel to this new licence; but he probably took advantage of his leave of non-residence to proceed to his doctorate in canon law; for, on 10th February, 1353–4, when his fellow-countryman, Reynold Brian, bishop of Worcester, created him his official, he is called LL.D.[5] He combined

[1] Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 240.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 345.
[3] ibid. iii, 415.
[4] ibid. iii, 427, 432.
[5] Worcester ep. reg. Brian, i, f. 7.

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this new office with that of official of Lincoln, but was never beneficed in Worcester diocese. On 12th May, 1354, Gynewell appointed him to the archdeaconry of Leicester, then vacant by the death of Henry Chaddesden.[1] The office, however, had been reserved by the pope, from whom Doune received a provision ratifying Gynewell's action on 12th October following.[2] Meanwhile, the archdeaconry was claimed by a clerk of the diocese of Bazas, Arnauld de Gavarret, and, while the dispute continued, Doune, on 11th December, 1354, was dispensed to hold Quainton with the archdeaconry till All Saints' day, 1355.[3] Eventually, by papal letters of 10th December, 1355, the dispute was concluded in his favour.[4] He had already begun to exercise his jurisdiction as archdeacon, for his name appears on 24th March, 1354–5, second among the four archdeacons of Richmond, Leicester, Lewes and Stafford, who witnessed the foundation of the new college at Leicester by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[5] It does not appear that, beyond his formal connexion with him as archdeacon of Leicester, he ever came into close relationship with the duke of Lancaster, the most powerful magnate in the archdeaconry; nor did he ever obtain service, like so many clerks, under the Crown. His activities were devoted to the service of prelates; and to him might be applied the character given of himself in 1366 by his friend Roger Otery: 'industriosus in temporalibus et spiritualibus, et potissime circa correccionem et reformacionem morum subditorum episcoporum iuxta morem ecclesie Anglicane et Wallie, prout experiencia docet et docuit iam multis annis.'[6]

Of his tenure of the archdeaconry, which included the county of Leicester, then divided into rather more than 200 parishes, there is little to record beyond what is contained in his will. He held it for some seven years from the time of its collation to him by Gynewell. Instead of resigning Quainton in 1355, he continued to hold it with the archdeaconry till 1359–60. The church of Swalcliffe, Oxon. then fell vacant by the death of Richard Whitewell, canon of Lincoln. Doune now

[1] Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 319 d.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 517.
[3] ibid. iii, 524.
[4] ibid. iii, 566.
[5] Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 282 d.
[6] Lambeth archiep. reg. Langham, f. 26.

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resigned Quainton and, accepting Swalcliffe instead, at the presentation of Thomas Logis, vicar of Pinchbeck, Lincs. was instituted on 16th February, 1359–60.[1] He held this living for about eighteen months. In 1361 there was a return of the great pestilence, which, though the mortality was not so great as before, worked havoc in the midlands.[2] It was probably about the beginning of this second pestilence that Doune made his will. The date cannot be limited within a narrow period, but he had evidently been rector of Swalcliffe for some little time. Its careful provisions and its general tone indicate that he was in fair health but in some apprehension of the immediate future. He died before 9th August, 1361, when the institution of his successor to Swalcliffe is recorded.[3] With regard to the archdeaconry it is disappointing that no record remains. His career, though little more can be recovered of it than barren facts and dates, is that of the typical ecclesiastical lawyer of the middle ages, rising in the service of a bishop, studying in a university upon the fruits of his benefices, and obtaining the reward of his ambition in an archdeaconry which might lead, as it led in the case of Graunson and Gynewell, to a bishopric.

It may be said at this point that the functions of a mediaeval archdeacon, though nominally spiritual, required little more of him than that he should be a practical man of affairs, expert in legal and financial matters. The more valuable English archdeaconries, especially in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, were frequently perquisites of cardinals and well-born satellites of the papal court; and at all times it was not uncommon for an archdeacon, especially if he were occupied, as was often the case, in the royal chancery or other offices at Westminster, to perform his duties exclusively through an official and the official's clerks. William Doune, however, was, as we have seen, one of those archdeacons who, beginning their career in the service of a diocesan bishop, devoted his attention to diocesan as distinct from national

[1] Linc. ep. reg. ix, f. 224 d. His successor at Quainton was instituted on 17th May, 1360 (ibid. f. 270 d.)

[2] For some account of this pestilence in another part of England see *The Pestilences of the fourteenth century in the diocese of York*, by the present writer, *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxi, 97–154.

[3] Linc. ep. reg. ix, f. 228.

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administration. The duties of an archdeacon, as defined by canon law,[1] were practically uniform in all dioceses. In the sphere of his jurisdiction he was *oculus episcopi*, the bishop's eye, charged with a vigilant watch over all that was in need of correction or reform. The same book into which William Doune's will was copied contains a copy of an appeal by Richard Ravenser against bishop Buckingham's sequestrator, which defines the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Lincoln and applies to the other archdeacons of the same church.[2] To Ravenser belonged, as of established custom, the primary hearing and decision of all cases coming under the cognisance of the ecclesiastical court in his archdeaconry, and the correction and punishment of offenders. He was empowered to appoint, admit and depose his various rural deans and other officers,[3] to prove wills and demand, audit and acquit the accounts of executors. He had to visit his archdeaconry yearly, and, in so doing, collected the procurations or fees which constituted the staple emoluments of his office.[4] Ravenser

[1] Decretal. Greg.IX, i, tit. xxiii, especially cap. 7, *Ad hec*, which contains the constitution of Innocent III, relative to the office of archdeacon.

[2] ff. 200 d. 201: 'Quodque de antiqua legitime prescripta et obtenta hactenusque pacifice obseruata consuetudine omnium causarum et negociorum siue ex officio siue ad instanciam parcium in dicto archidiaconatu ad forum et cognicionem ecclesiasticam spectancium primaria cognicio ipsarumque causarum ac negociorum diffinicio et decisio, criminumque et excessuum omnium dicti archidiaconatus subditorum ad forum et cognicionem premissa pertinencium correccio [et] punicio, decanorum ruralium dicti archidiaconatus apparitorum et aliorum ministrorum deputacio et admissio ac ab huiusmodi officio amocio iuxta ipsius archidiaconi officiariorumve suorum arbitrium, testamentorumque quorumcunque infra dictum archidiaconatum decedencium probacio et approbacio eorundemque insinuacio, raciocinorum siue calculorum de et super administracione bonorum dictorum defunctorum exaudicio ac finalis acquietancie super calculo huiusmodi faccio et concessio, emolumentorum exinde prouenienciumque percepcio, ecclesiarumque et beneficiorum ac personarum eiusdem archidiaconatus visitacio archidiaconalis de anno in annum debite facienda et ea occasione procuracio debita et consueta, ad dictum dominum archidiaconum ipsiusque precessores (sic) qui pro tempore fuerint solum et insolidum et nullatenus ad episcopum Lincolniensem eiusve officiarios seu ministros notorie pertinuerunt, pertinent et pertinere consueuerunt, visitacione dicti domini episcopi de triennio in triennium in dicto archidiaconatu facienda dumtaxat excepta.'

[3] Decretal. i, xxiii, 7, ut sup. § 6, defines the appointment, etc. of archpriests or rural deans as belonging to the bishop and archdeacon in common.

[4] Decretal. i, xxiii, cap. 6, *Mandamus*, forbids an archdeacon to visit more than once a year. Ibid. iii, xxxix, cap. 23, *Procuraciones*, requires the visitation to be personal: otherwise the archdeacon has no right to demand procurations, which must be moderate. The constitution of the legate Otho *De archidiaconis* orders 'ecclesias autem non grauent superfluis expensis, sed procuraciones exigant duntaxat, cum visitent moderatas.' Their chief duties as visitors are set forth in the provincial constitutions of archbishops Langton *Ut archidiaconi*, Peckham *Eisdem eciam temporibus*, and Reynolds *Sint ecclesiarum rectores* and *Archidiaconi*, as well as in the legatine constitution above mentioned. Procurations were understood to be paid in victuals and lodging, excluding the expense of the visitor's

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does not mention the examination of presentees to benefices or their induction after institution.[1] In some cases at any rate, when a benefice fell vacant, the archdeacon was entitled to a share in its fruits during its vacancy.[2] It is obvious that the fees which fell to his share in connexion with all these duties were considerable. The emoluments of the great archdeaconry of Lincoln were estimated at an average varying from 300 to as much as 600 marks a year, an enormous sum in money of our day.[3] The archdeaconry of Richmond, whose holders enjoyed the right of institution to benefices and other quasi-episcopal privileges, was probably even more valuable.[4] There was no ecclesiastical office in which a man was more able to make money or was less hampered by purely spiritual considerations. The popular character borne by archdeacons two centuries before William Doune's day was expressed in famous words by John of Salisbury, who writes to a correspondent: 'There was, as I remember, a class of men, who in the church of God are counted by the name of archdeacons. From these your discretion used to complain that the whole way of salvation was utterly barred, for, as you were wont to say, they love gifts, they follow rewards, they give a prize to injustice, they rejoice in false accusations, they feed upon the sins of the people. Their living is by rapine, so that no host is safe from his guest.'[5] This account, which paints the mediaeval archdeacon in his least amiable light, is corroborated from other sources, and we shall see that

horses and carriages, and Gregory X at the council of Lyons forbade procurations in money: these, however, were permitted by Boniface VIII (Sexti decretal. III, xx, cap. 3, *Felicis*) and were regulated by Benedict XII in 1336 (Extravag. Commun. II, x, *Vas electionis*). The visitation programmes of 1441 and 1442 in York archiep. reg. Kempe show that, save in certain special cases, the archbishop and his commissaries rated their procurations at 100s. a day.

[1] This is ordered, e.g. in Decretal. I, xxiii, 7, § 5, where induction is defined as *institucio corporalis*.

[2] Another document in the Peterborough book (f. 206) states this of the archdeacon of Surrey, who claimed a moiety of the fruits of benefices during vacancy.

[3] In 1366 William of Wykeham returned the average annual value of the archdeaconry of Lincoln, which he then held, as £350 sterling, i.e. 525 marks (Lambeth archiep. reg. Langham, f. 12 d). But estimates vary at different times.

[4] For the special privileges of the archdeacon of Richmond see *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls ser.), iii, 248–250.

[5] Ep. 156, quoted by Ducange, s.v. *Archidiaconus*. 'Erat, ut memini, genus hominum, qui in ecclesia Dei archidiaconorum censentur nomine, quibus vestra discrecio omnem salutis viam querebatur esse preclusam; nam, ut dicere consuevistis, diligunt munera, sequuntur retribuciones, ad iniurias premium faciunt, calumniis gaudent, peccata populi comedunt quibus vivitur ex rapto, ut non sit hospes ab hospite tutus.' The last sentence is, of course, a quotation from Ovid, Met. I, 144.

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William Doune was acutely conscious of the temptations of his office and its unpopularity.

The defective state of the will prevents us from estimating the full value of the archdeacon's estate. No statement of his real property is given, the bequests dealing purely with property of a personal nature. His relations, servants and personal friends received a number of small legacies. His half-brother and sister, Aymer Fitzwaryn and Alice Marchaunt, were probably well provided for already. To Alice he left three marks (£2), to Aymer twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.), and to each twelve silver spoons. His own brother Thomas had four pounds and four silver spoons. His aunt Jane Lynham had three marks and six silver spoons: her son had three marks. Of his nephews the Bozouns, Robert, the elder, had ten pounds towards his studies at a university, while the younger brother had five pounds: to these legacies there was an addition of which mention will be made later. The nephew at Oxford, already studying there, received another ten pounds. Another nephew, Thomas Waryn, received five marks. To the two daughters of Jane Lynham he left ten pounds and five pounds respectively in aid of their marriage portions, and to a certain Isabel, daughter of Margaret Pipard, who was born in Exeter and lived there with his sister Alice Marchaunt, he left the generous sum of £40 to the same end. The most interesting features of these legacies are the stringent conditions attached to some of them. Aymer Fitzwaryn had a doubtful reputation in the law-courts for false swearing and the offence of barretry.[1] The archdeacon left him twenty marks 'on condition that he shall never in his lifetime stand on any jury, or take an oath before the king's justices or any other secular persons or be one of twelve jurors, or ever induce any one to be such, but,

[1] Barretry is 'the offence of frequently exciting and stirring up suits and quarrels between his majesty's subjects, either at law or otherwise' (Blackstone). See Ducange, s.v. *Baratum*: 'Baraterii sunt qui nimis pretorium frequentant . . . *Chicaneurs*, vitilitigatores . . . Italis Barattieri dicuntur, qui ex sordido lucro vitam agunt, vel qui judices pecunia corrumpunt, atque ideo ipsi judices corrupti . . . Barretors . . . Anglis a *Barretour* appellantur vitilitigatores, litium querelarumque communium fotores.' Dante condemned *barattieri* to the fifth *bolgia* of the eighth circle of the *Inferno* (*Inf.* xxii). The offence of barretry is well described by Crabbe in the characters of the two Swallows, *The Borough*, letter vi; and cf. the character of Richard Monday, *The Parish Register*, part i:

In all disputes, on either part he lied,
And freely gave his oath on either side.

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abandoning and giving up such abuses of law, of which he is gravely suspect, to say nothing further, shall serve God as a Christian man and faithful and repent worthily of his past deeds, and find sufficient surety touching this to my executors . . . Otherwise, if he make not sufficient surety touching the fulfilment of such condition, concerning which it should be carefully noted that his lands be not bound, charged upon, or made over to Thomas Missenden,[1] for example, or any other by the statute of merchants or other means, he shall wholly and altogether go without such legacy.' Isabel Pipard's £40 were also carefully hedged about with conditions which indicate that the archdeacon was anxious for her welfare.[2] Her future husband, when the time came, could receive the money only by entering into a bond with the executors which, if he were under the disadvantage of a previous contract of marriage or under any other impediment, would be *ipso facto* null and void, but, in case he ill-treated her after marriage, would remain in full effect. On the other hand, if, in certain circumstances, she should not be able to make a good marriage, but became the wife of some abject and mean person whose goods did not amount to 100 shillings, she would lose two-thirds of the £40; while, if her behaviour was such that she should neither want to marry nor be worth marrying, the legacy was reduced to forty shillings. Similarly, in leaving her some clothes and his great red bed with all its furniture, the archdeacon provided that, in case of her misconduct, she should forfeit them. The bequests forfeited in this way were to be used in aid of the dowry of honest unmarried women, preferably of the testator's own blood.

Among legacies to persons not of his kin to whom the archdeacon was bound by ties of gratitude are three pounds to William Stanley of Stamford and Agnes his

[1] Thomas Missenden or Cophouse had bought an estate in the manor of Quainton from the co-heirs of Robert Mallet (d. 1347). In 1351 he had acquired a third of the manor and the advowson of the church from Aymer Fitzwaryn and Isabel his wife, who was apparently a daughter of Robert Mallet. He subsequently acquired the whole manor. When William Doune resigned Quainton church in 1360, his successor was presented by Missenden's attorneys. Missenden himself died shortly after: his widow Isabel, daughter of Bernard Brocas, married Sir John Golafre of Sarsden, Oxon, who at his death (1379) was seised of the manor and advowson *jure uxoris* (Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* i, 394).

[2] Her relationship to him is nowhere stated; but the prominent place which she occupies in the will suggests the inference that she was his own daughter.

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wife, with whom some of the archdeacon's clothes and furniture were stored,[1] forty shillings to William their son, eight pounds to be divided among the three sons of John Deneys of Gidcote, and five pounds to his daughter in aid of her dowry. Walter Asche, his donzel and notary, and Simon Bulkyngton, his serving-man, had five marks each; and Walter Achym, another serving-man, had three marks. Richard Saunders, his bailiff at Swalcliffe, had two marks or the same amount in spices or wheat. Small legacies of three marks each were left to some of his clerical friends in Devon and Cornwall, John Shareshull, precentor of Exeter,[2] Richard Norys, canon of Exeter,[3] John Oldestowe, rector of St. Mabyn,[4] Benet Paston, formerly one of the portioners of St. Probus,[5] and the

[1] His actual connexion with Stamford is nowhere stated. It was not, of course, in his archdeaconry; but he must have been there frequently on his way from the south to Lincoln or in his capacity as bishop Gynewell's official. Stamford lay on the great trade route from London to Boston and to the north of England, and it is probable that the archdeacon made his purchases of cloth and other goods at Stamford fair, which continued to be one of the leading English annual markets till a much later date (cf. Shakespeare, 2 *H. IV*, III, ii, 42–43), and stored them in the town. The geographical and commercial importance of Stamford was no doubt the main reason for the spasmodic migrations from Oxford and Cambridge which had taken place there.

[2] Shareshull, who probably took his name from Shareshill, Staffs. near Wolverhampton, exchanged the church of Wraysbury, Bucks. for the precentorship of Exeter with the well-known Adam Murimuth in 1337. His institution to Wraysbury is not recorded, unless he may be identified with John Staunton, priest, instituted 13th October, 1323 (Lincoln ep. reg. iv, f. 329 d). The exchange was effected by the bishop of Lincoln, 1st September, 1337 (ibid. ff. 349 d, 350), and Shareshull was installed at Exeter on 25th September following, William Doune being one of those present (*Exeter ep. reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. iii, 1318). He also had collation of a canonry and prebend of Exeter, 19th June, 1338, which he quitted for another on 15th December, 1340 (ibid. iii, 1321, 1329). He held the precentorship for 35 years, dying in 1372 (Le Neve, i, 410).

[3] Master Richard Noreis, clerk, was instituted rector of Inwardleigh, near Okehampton, 21st July, 1317 (*Exeter ep. reg. Stapeldon*, ut sup. 224), and appears as subdeacon in the following March (ibid. 515). He was at a later date rector of Ugborough, near Totnes (ibid. *Grandisson*, i, 507; ii, 774); but there seems to be no record of the date at which he obtained this or his canonry at Exeter. He must have died soon after William Doune, for his canonry was filled by a new collation on 3rd February, 1361–2, in consequence of his death (ibid. iii, 1475).

[4] John Aldestowe was instituted to the church of St. Ruan Lanihorne, near Truro, on the presentation of Sir John Lercedekne, 13th November, 1340 (ibid. iii, 1328), but resigned it on being presented shortly after by dame Maud Lercedekne to St. Mabyn, near Bodmin, to which he was instituted 9th January, 1340–1 (ibid. iii, 1329). He obtained a prebend in the church of Glasney, near Penryn, 3rd May, 1349 (ibid. iii, 1386), holding this with St. Mabyn till his death, which took place before 27th April, 1362 (ibid. iii, 1482: cf. 1484).

[5] Master Benet Paston obtained the church of Blockley, Worces. by papal provision, 30th September, 1310 (Nash, *Hist. Worces.* i, 104). He vacated it by 17th January, 1330–1, and appears soon after to have transferred his energies to the diocese of Exeter, where he had collation of a prebend in Probus church, 10th February, 1332–3 (*Exeter ep. reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. iii, 1292), and became chancellor of Exeter after 1335, apparently resigning before 25th March, 1346 (Le Neve, ii, 418). He resigned his prebend by 1st May, 1352, when it was collated to Halford (*Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. iii, 1422–3).

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archdeacon's kinsman, Ralph Halford, who had succeeded Paston in his benefice in 1352.[1] Walter Bokelond, one of the canons of Missenden abbey, had thirty shillings, Alexander Sporman, chantry priest of St. Anne in all Saints', Oxford,[2] a pound; while the vicar of Sleaford[3] had three shillings. These smaller legacies probably covered the expense of masses for the testator's soul.

By far the greater amount of the archdeacon's money was left for religious purposes. Two sums of £40 each were left to the building of the chancels, for which as rector he had been responsible, of Georgeham and Quainton churches. In each case the present rector was obliged to bind himself to the executors for double the amount to use the money within a certain time for the prescribed purposes, under pain of excommunication. If he failed to enter into the bond within six months of receiving notice of the legacy, it was to be applied to other purposes. The £40 bequeathed to Georgeham was in this case to be divided thus: five sums of ten marks each were to be given, one to the fabric[4] or repair of the nave and churchyard wall at Georgeham, one to be divided among the poorer and more infirm folk of the archdeaconries of Totnes, Barnstaple and Exeter, one to the fabric of the Cistercian abbey of Newenham near

[1] He vacated his prebend by death before 4th April, 1362 (ibid. iii, 1480). St. Probus, near Truro, was one of those churches, common in the west and south-west of England, which are often reckoned as collegiate, but were more properly churches of which the rectory was divided among a number of portioners. St. Crantock, St. Teath and St. Endellion are kindred examples in Cornwall; Chulmleigh, Tiverton and the castle chapel at Exeter in Devon. An instructive document explaining the technical difference between such churches and collegiate churches occurs in *Hereford ep. reg. Gilbert* (Cant. and York Soc.) 60, 61, relating to the similar churches of Bromyard and Ledbury. Gnosall, Staffs. and Darlington, Norton and others in co. Durham, may be cited in the same connexion. It is noteworthy that of all the collegiate and quasi-collegiate churches in Exeter diocese only one besides Exeter, viz. the royal free chapel of St. Buryan, near Penzance, had a dean. At Crediton, Glasney and Ottery St. Mary, collegiate foundations in the ordinary sense, the bishops appear to have reserved to themselves an honorary and purely nominal headship of the chapter, akin to the relationship of the archbishop of York to his deanless chapters of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell.

[2] Doubtless identical with Alexander of St. Albans, instituted to this chantry 23rd September, 1351, on the presentation of John Falle, John Cary and John Langerusche, executors of Richard Cary (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 204 d). The chantry, for the soul of Nicholas Burcestre, citizen of Oxford, had been ordained on 26th June previously (ibid. ff. 199–200 d). There is no further mention of Alexander: the next institution took place on 27th February, 1369–70, on the resignation of John Clerc of Castelacre (Reg. x, f. 347 d).

[3] Probably John Whittelegh, instituted 10th August, 1349 (Reg. ix, f. 13). Sleaford castle was one of the residences of the bishop of Lincoln, which Doune would have visited in discharge of diocesan business.

[4] *Fabrica* in this and similar contexts generally signifies a permanent fabric fund and does not necessarily imply that building was in actual progress.

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Axminster, another to the fabric of the priory of Austin canons at Launceston, and the fifth to be distributed among the poorer scholars of the university of Oxford. Of the remaining ten marks, five were to be devoted to the fabric or repair of the Greyfriars church at Exeter, and five to the like uses of the black friars and other friars throughout England. In the case of Quainton, ten marks were to go to the fabric or repair of the nave or its windows or to the making of a stone wall or a good hedge of quick-thorn round the church, five marks to the poorer parishioners, five marks to poor priests who could not celebrate, five marks to the repair of the church and cloister of St. Frideswide's at Oxford, with ten marks more for its necessary buildings, five marks to the similar uses of the abbey of Austin canons at Nutley in Buckinghamshire, and five marks to each of the four orders of friars at Oxford.

At Swalcliffe, with its chapelries of Epwell, Shutford and Lee, villages on the elevated ground to the south of Edgehill, the archdeacon, during his short tenure of the living, had spent money freely, and even, in his opinion, excessively upon the rectory house and its buildings. To further work of this kind, however, he left forty marks (£26 13s. 4d.), requiring a sufficient bond from the rector for its proper application within one or two years. The rector was also to bind himself in 100 marks to the executors not to harass or sue them or the executors of Doune's predecessor, Richard Whitewell,[1] for dilapidations, but to absolve them of any responsibility.

Ten pounds were bequeathed to the church of St. Endellion for the fabric or repair of the chancel. If the rector or portioner who held the cure of souls and his fellow portioners failed to enter into the requisite bond, five pounds were to be applied to the nave of the church and the remaining five to buying clothes for the poorer and more wretched parishioners of the same church. Towards books and vestments for St. Endellion the archdeacon left three marks, with similar legacies to Quainton and Georgeham of ten and five marks respectively.

[1] Richard Whitwell or Whitewell was canon of Lincoln, with the prebend of Empingham (Le Neve, ii, 146). His will, dated 11th December, 1359, is translated in *Lincoln Wills*, ed. Foster (Lincoln Record Soc.), i, 7–11, where details of his career will be found.

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A further legacy of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) to be distributed for the repair of the chancels of the churches in the archdeaconry of Leicester recalls the fact that an archdeaconry was regarded canonically as a benefice with a cure of souls.[1] An archdeacon was morally responsible for the spiritual welfare of his archdeaconry, and Doune's legacy was intended to relieve in some degree the rectors and appropriators over whom he was set of their legal responsibility for part of the fabric of their churches. Ten pounds of this sum were to be set apart for the chancels of churches appropriated to the abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows by Leicester,[2] and five marks for those appropriated to the priory of Austin canons at Laund, in the highlands of south-east Leicestershire.[3] Thus he secured a place in the prayers of these two convents. Further, he left twenty marks to the repair of the nave of the poorer churches, and ten marks to the upkeep and enclosure of their churchyards, with a sum of twenty pounds to the purchase and repair of books and vestments in churches standing most in need of them. His archdeaconry thus benefited by his will to the amount of £106 13s. 4d. which may have been approximately equivalent to its value to the archdeacon in a good year.[4] Some of its individual incumbents also profited by bequests of varying amounts and kinds, the vicar of Melton Mowbray,[5]

[1] See Decretal. I, xxiii, cap. 1, taken from the *Ordo Romanus*: 'Ut archidiaconus post episcopum sciat se vicarium esse eius in omnibus, et omnem curam in clero, tam in urbe positorum, quam eorum, qui per parochias habitare noscuntur, ad se pertinere; sive de eorum conversacione, sive de honore et restauracione ecclesiarum, sive doctrina ecclesiasticorum vel ceterarum rerum studio, et delinquencium racionem coram Deo redditurus est.'

[2] These were Barrow-on-Soar, Lockington and Shepshed in Akeley deanery; the churches of All Saints, St. Clement, St. Leonard, St. Martin, St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Nicholas and St. Peter in the deanery of the Christianity of Leicester, Eaton and Thorpe Arnold, in Framland deanery; Billesdon, Evington, Theddingworth and Thurnby in Gartree deanery; Belgrave, Humberstone, Hungarton and Queniborough in Goscote deanery; Bitteswell, Cosby and Enderby in Guthlaxton deanery; and Thornton in Sparkenhoe deanery.

[3] Abkettleby in Framland deanery; Welham in Gartree deanery; Ashby Folville, Frisby, Loddington and Tilton in Goscote deanery; and Oadby in Guthlaxton deanery. In Lincoln ep. reg. iii, f. 295, there is a ratification by bishop Dalderby, 20th Jan. 1313–1314, of letters patent of bishop Gravesend, 29th Nov. 1260, confirming the appropriation to Laund priory of the churches of Frisby, Loddington, Tilton and Welham with those of Ashby St. Ledgers and Weston-by-Welland in Northants.

[4] It was taxed in 1291 at £80 (*Tax. eccl. Nich. IV* [Rec. Comm.]); but this was probably on a very loose reckoning.

[5] Robert Scothorn, rector of Asfordby 5th October, 1337 (Lincoln ep. reg. iv, f. 150). He exchanged Asfordby for the vicarage of Melton Mowbray, in the gift of the prior and convent of Lewes, 10th October, 1353 (ibid. ix, f. 314 d). It does not appear when or how he quitted this benefice.

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the rectors of Kibworth[1] and Nailstone,[2] and a priest who, though called rector of Shackerstone, had not legally obtained the benefice.[3] One clause of the archdeacon's will shews that these large legacies were in the nature of an *amende honorable*. An archdeacon's attitude to his cure of souls was not wholly benevolent, and there is abundant evidence for the fact, stated in very succinct terms by Chaucer,[4] that his procurations and other dues were often levied extortionately by himself and his officers.[5] Doune prays the clergy whom he mentions specially by name 'and any others soever in my archdeaconry of Leicester that they forgive me those sums which I have unduly received of them by myself or my servants. And, for the love of God,' he proceeds, 'let there be made within a month after my death, especially in my archdeaconry of Leicester, and then in the whole diocese of Lincoln, a general proclamation that whosoever shall have felt at any time that he has been unduly oppressed or vexed by me, or can say or shew, at any rate with probability, that I have extorted or taken anything from him contrary to justice and good conscience, excepting only my procurations as archdeacon, which I have sometimes taken in the aforesaid archdeaconry without performing the office of visitation,[6] on account

[1] Kibworth Beauchamp. Giles, the rector mentioned in the will, does not appear in the Lincoln registers.

[2] Peter Aylesston exchanged the church of Welford, Berks. for Nailstone, 26th July, 1337 (Linc. ep. reg. ix, f. 148 d). He died by 10th November, 1361 (ibid. ix, f. 334).

[3] His name was Alexander. The legal occupant of the church, however, was Bartholomew Wendovere, instituted 16th July, 1349 (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 297), who exchanged it for Besthorpe, Norfolk, 16th August, 1384 (ibid. xi, f. 197).

[4] '"Purs is the erchedeknes helle," seyde he' (*Cant. Tales*, A. 658).

[5] Various unjust exactions are noted and forbidden in Decretal. 1, xxiii, cap. 6, *Mandamus*. See also the constitution of Otho *De archidiaconis*: 'Cum autem visitent, corrigant, aut crimina puniant, aliquid ab aliquo recipere non presumant, nec sentenciis aliquos involvant iniuste, quod ab eis possint pecunias extorquere: cum enim hec et talia symoniacam sapiant pravitatem. Decernimus, ut qui talia agere presumpserint, sic extorta in duplum erogare in pios usus arbitrio episcopi compellantur, salva nihilominus alia pena canonica contra eos.' In spite of the provision of the same constitution against exorbitant charges at visitations (see note 4 on p. 242 above) and a special clause, 'non ducant secum extraneos, sed modeste se habeant tam in familia quam in equis,' their retinue and equipage were often serious sources of expense to their clergy. See, e.g. a complaint of the clergy of the deanery of Holderness, c. 1281, to archbishop Wickwane against the large train of officers and carriages brought by the archdeacon's official on visitation. 'Hodie non solum est [ecclesia] ablactata immo verius adbicata et abjecta, exaccionibus novis et oppressionibus insolitis onerata, et vix est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus curis ejus' (*York archiep. reg. Wickwane*, ed. Brown [Surtees soc.] 248–9).

[6] For the obligation of personal visitation, see note 4 on p. 242 above. Papal dispensations absolving archdeacons from

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of which I have above ordained other devout works of piety and alms to be done in the same archdeaconry, in such recompense as I can at present make—if (I say) he can shew probable evidence of such wrongful and unlawful extorsion and receipt, and swear that his affirmation in this behalf is true, then my executors shall restore and make good, so far as is honest and right, all and sundry the sums so extorted and received unlawfully, in so far as my goods not bequeathed in the present will to other uses or to persons certain or uncertain may suffice herein. And, touching the value or otherwise of such evidence and oath or their sufficiency or insufficiency, I wish it to be determined at the will and by the conscience of my executors, weighing and considering the quality of the persons and the amount of the sums, inasmuch as at present no such matter in special occurs to me excepting certain sums received by my servants, as they have told me, from the vicar of Melton Mowbray,[1] in recompense for which I have made bequests to him above of a considerably greater value, and, because I perhaps extorted from the same vicar against the honesty of my conscience a bond of ten pounds, I have remitted it to him above and do remit it. And I pray him to forgive me therefor, for that I now bitterly consider in myself that many who are in authority do bear themselves very ill with them that are set under them, yea, they do slaughter them, and of the number of these I have been and am one, God of his unspeakable pity be merciful to me for it!'[2]

We have seen that the archdeacon acquired a claim to the masses and prayers of the canons of Leicester and of Laund. He was lavish of special benefactions to other religious houses for the same purpose. These bequests were made chiefly to the fabric funds of the various houses.

this duty are common. See, e.g. indults (30th November, 1414) granted for seven years to John Stone, archdeacon of Northampton, and to Richard Elvet, archdeacon of Leicester, to visit by deputy, even three or four churches a day, and to receive procurations in ready money, even where the desire is expressed to pay in victuals (*Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 496).

[1] See note 5 on p. 249 above.

[2] The avarice of ecclesiastical lawyers is denounced by Dante, *Par.* ix, 133 sqq. who says that their study of canon law is devoted to the quest of *il maladetto fiore*, 'the accursed florin':

Per questo l'Evangelio e i dottor' magni
Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni, etc.

Against this condemnation of the misuse of legal studies may be set his admiration of Gratian:

che l'uno e l'altro foro
Aiutò sì che piace in paradiso.

(*Par.* x, 104–5).

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Laund priory received three pounds towards the fabric of its cloister,[1] but no other religious house within the archdeaconry of Leicester is mentioned. Of houses in Devon, Newenham abbey benefited to the extent of ten marks, Torre abbey to that of five pounds, Ford abbey and Plympton priory five marks each, Tavistock abbey, two pounds. Of three Gloucestershire houses, Winchcombe abbey and Llanthony priory—the second Llanthony, hard by Gloucester—had five pounds each, and Cirencester abbey five marks. Spalding priory in Lincolnshire had five marks. Nutley abbey in Buckinghamshire had three pounds, Missenden abbey two pounds. Of the monasteries in and round Oxford, the archdeacon left ten pounds to St. Frideswide's priory, ten marks to Eynsham abbey, five pounds each to Abingdon abbey and Bicester priory. Of the prior of Bicester[2] and the abbot of Winchcombe[3] he entertained some suspicion, charging his legacies with the condition that they should not be pocketed by these gentlemen. He made the same provision regarding the prior of St. Frideswide's.[4]

For two monasteries, Launceston priory and Oseney abbey, he seems to have had a special affection, leaving twenty marks to each of them. The legacy to Oseney was divided proportionately between the abbot[5] and canons, with a further three marks to their household. That to Launceston was appropriated to the fabric fund, with additional gifts of half a mark to each canon, and a whole mark to one David Hole.[6] The abbot and convent of Oseney had in their keeping certain strong-boxes and chests which contained money, books and silver cups, with other belongings of the archdeacon; and their legacy was conditional upon their safe custody of this property according to the terms of an indenture made

[1] This special bequest suggests that the cloister was being rebuilt at this time; but see note 4 on p. 247 above. The site of the cloister is now covered by the mansion called Laund abbey, partly constructed of the material of the priory buildings, for a notice of which see J. A. Gotch, F.S.A. *The Renaissance in Leicestershire* (*Assoc. Archit. Soc. Reports*, xxvii, 496–502).

[2] Robert Blaket, prior 1354-83 (*Monasticon* vi, 433).

[3] Walter Winforton, abbot 1359–95 (ibid. ii, 298).

[4] Nicholas Hungerford, prior 1349, resigned 1362 (ibid. ii, 137–138).

[5] Thomas Cudelyngton, abbot 1330–73 (ibid. vi, 249).

[6] The prior of Launceston at this time was probably Thomas Bourdon, elected 1346 (ibid. vi, 211).

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between them and the owner. He also remitted to them a debt of £20 which they had borrowed from him and the arrears of an annual pension of £2, with the interest, asking them to enrol him in their *martilogium*[1] among the benefactors of the house and to remember him for ever in their prayers. The abbot[2] and convent of Ford also held some of his goods. If they did not account satisfactorily for these, his executors were empowered to sue them in the secular court for eleven years' arrears of a pension of two marks and a yearly suit of clothes, for which his executors would find a bond in the great strong-box deposited in the dorter at Oseney. He remitted to them a debt of ten marks for which there was a bond in the same place. While the executors were to deal mercifully with them in circumstances over which the abbot and convent had no control, the terms of this legacy and acquittal were safeguarded by conditions which made it difficult for the abbot and convent to evade the fulfilment of their duty.

In leaving the large sum of two hundred marks for the endowment of two perpetual chantries for himself, his parents, his benefactors, those to whom he was in debt and those whose goods he had justly or unjustly received, he apparently wished that such chantries should be served by secular priests in cathedral or parish churches or a chapel. In case, however, the foundation should be difficult, the executors were instructed to found one in Launceston priory and the other in Oseney abbey, or, in default of these, at Nutley, Torre, or wherever they should see fit, augmenting the sum, if necessary, out of the residue of his goods not included in his various bequests.[3]

To poor friars throughout England he left twenty marks, ten for the raiment and habits of 'friars who are old and weak and of mean condition and small reputation

[1] The *martilogium*, properly *martyrologium*, was the volume containing the calendar of saints' days and the rule of the order, with the names of benefactors and the dates of their obits, from which a selection was read daily at the beginning of a chapter. Occasionally not merely notes of benefactions, but the charters themselves were copied into it: thus an agreement between the abbeys of Kirkstead and Bardney relating to meadow-land on the bank of the Witham was inscribed in the *martilogium* of Bardney (Cotton MS. Vesp. E. xx, f. 272 d).

[2] Adam, elected 1354 (*Monasticon* v, 370).

[3] There seems to be no record of the foundation of these chantries.

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among them, and yet are honest and devout, wherever such may most be found in England,' and ten for the repair and roofing of the churches and buildings of the more necessitous houses. Some churches of secular canons are also mentioned. Five marks were to go to the fabric fund of Exeter cathedral, or at any rate to the glazing of a window in his memory in the church or cloister,[1] while the fabric funds of the collegiate churches of Crediton, Ottery St. Mary, and Glasney in Cornwall[2] received forty shillings each, and that of Lincoln cathedral five pounds. Various bequests were made to the poor priests and clerks of Lincoln and Exeter cathedrals, and to the household and chaplains of the bishops of Exeter, Lincoln and Worcester.[3] To the warden and

[1] The fabric of the nave of Exeter cathedral was probably finished c. 1351: the cloisters, however, which no longer remain, were finished and glazed in 1380–1 (Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, 386, quoted by P. Freeman, *Archit. Hist. of Exeter Cath.* new ed. 1888, 89).

[2] The three collegiate churches as distinct from churches of portioners in Exeter diocese: see note 1 on p. 247 above.

[3] In this connexion may be noted Doune's mention of 'a book of very small [money] value that belonged to master Roger Otery, who abides with my lord of Worcester.' Roger Otery was one of the clerks of Devonian origin who, like Doune himself, were introduced into the diocese of Worcester by bishop Reynold Brian. An interesting personal declaration of his benefices, a passage from which has already been quoted (p. 240 above), survives among the returns of pluralists in Lambeth archiep. reg. Langham, f. 26. Between 1342 and 1344 bishop Graunson had appointed him to the prebend of St. Cross in Crediton, in consequence of a papal reservation of benefices for poor clerks, and subsequently had given him the eighth prebend in Ottery St. Mary. No record of these collations remains in the Exeter registers. He was in the service of bishop Brian, probably at St. David's and certainly at Worcester. On 18th June, 1358, he was instituted to the church of Syston, near Bristol (Worces. ep. reg. Brian, i, f. 25). In 1361 John Brian, rector of Hatfield, Herts. and prebendary of Goodringhill in Westbury-on-Trym, was appointed by his relation the bishop to the rectory of Bishop's Cleeve, Glouces. and resigned the church of Bledlow, Bucks, to which Otery was presented by the Crown, 25th April, 1361 (*Cal. Pat.* 1361–4, 4). He was instituted on 14th May (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 317 d). Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* ii, 117, gives the date as 1344 without a shadow of evidence. Bishop Brian, shortly before his death, gave Otery a prebend in Westbury-on-Trym, and on the same day, 10th November, 1361, collated to him or granted him the custody of the vacant vicarage of Henbury, Glouces. (Worces. ep reg. Brian, i, f. 40). These entries are both imperfect. The prebend would appear to be that known as Henbury, but from Otery's own statement and from other sources we know that before Brian's death, a month later, he had obtained Weston St. Lawrence prebend in Westbury; so that either the entry in the register is a mistake, or the bishop shortly afterwards gave him one prebend instead of the other. As he was only a subdeacon and had another benefice with cure of souls, he was disqualified from holding a vicarage, and any connexion he had with Henbury ceased by 2nd January, 1361–2 (*Worcester reg. sed. vac.* ed. Willis-Bund [Worc. Hist. soc.], p. 205). The present writer has not noticed when he vacated Syston. After Brian's death, Otery passed into the service of Lewis Charlton, bishop of Hereford, by whom he was ordained deacon at Bromyard, 16th April, 1362 (*Hereford ep. reg. L. Charlton* [Cant. and York soc.], 83). Subsequently he became Charlton's chancellor, obtaining from him the prebend of Hunderton in Hereford, 24th December, 1363 (ibid. 66), a priest-prebend in Holdgate, Salop, 14th July,

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scholars of Merton hall, for their common uses other than victuals, he left five marks; while ten pounds were to be divided among notably poor masters in arts and theology at Oxford, the masters in theology to receive a double portion.

The remainder of the legacies consist of clothes, plate, furniture and books. Though it would be too much to call the archdeacon a dressy man, he had an abundant supply of useful clothes, some at Swalcliffe, others stored at Stamford and elsewhere. Some thirteen robes or suits of clothes are mentioned, consisting of tunic, supertunic, tabard long or short, and one or two tippets to match.[1] Some of these were perquisites or liveries which the archdeacon obtained from his patrons or from religious houses, to whom he had doubtless proved useful.[2] Thus to the vicar of Melton Mowbray he bequeathed a suit furred with the expensive fur called

1364 (Eyton, *Antiq. Shropshire*, iv, 73) and Middlecourt or Middleton portion in Bromyard, 10th January, 1364–5 (*Reg. Charlton*, ut sup. 67). In his return of benefices in 1366 (see above) he describes himself as priest and LL.B. His benefices at Hereford and Bromyard were at this time in dispute (cf. *Reg. Charlton*, ut sup. 66 as regards Hunderton preb.) and on 3rd November, 1369, he received new grants of them from the Crown during the vacancy of the see of Hereford (*Cal. Pat.* 1367–70, 317). In 1370, on the promotion of Thomas Brantyngham to the see of Exeter, and the revocation of a grant to Henry Wakefield, afterwards bishop of Worcester, he obtained the deanery of Bridgnorth from the Crown (ibid. 1367–70, 401). He seems to have vacated his prebend in Holdgate in 1372 (Eyton, ut sup.), but to have held his deanery with Bledlow and his Westbury prebend till his death, which took place before 24th September, 1387 (Lincoln ep. reg. xi, f. 387; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1385–9, 361). A document in Worces. ep. reg. Whittlesey, f. 1 and d, printed by Dr. H. J. Wilkins, *John de Wycliffe*, etc. 1915, 18–26 (f. 1 d is photographed as a frontispiece of the same volume), testifies to his neglect of his prebend at Westbury. He was a benefactor in 1362 to the chantry of our Lady in Kempsey church, near Worcester (*Cal. Pat.* 1361–4, 237).

It is interesting to note that a John Doune had collation of Hartlebury church, Worces. from bishop Brian, 5th May, 1361, but exchanged it for St. Helen's, Worcester, on the same day (Worces. ep. reg. Brian, i, f. 33).

[1] cf. the foundation statutes of Elsing spital in the city of London, *Monasticon* vi, 706: 'ita, viz. quod quilibet de quatuor presbyteris dicti hospitalis habeat unam robam integram, viz. tunicam, supertunicam, longum tabardum et capucium cum furrura ad supertunicam et capucium.' In the revised statutes of the Newarke college at Leicester, issued by bishop Russell in 1490, occurs the prescription, 'Vtantur eciam [sc. canonici] supertunicis, id est togis talaribus tunicisque congruentibus et decentibus honestati clericali,' etc. (Lincoln ep. reg. xxii, f. 108).

[2] Nothing is more common in episcopal injunctions to religious houses than the mention of the corrodies, liveries or pensions with which the common fund was charged to outsiders. Doubtless the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester undertook to find their official in a suit of clothes every year as part of his salary; and Doune's *liberate* from monasteries were probably annual. *Liberata* implies a payment of any kind, and the word 'livery' in this sense does not imply that the archdeacon's clothes were of any special cut or colour, but merely that they were given him by the persons mentioned. The will mentions that the abbot and convent of Ford owed him a pension of two marks and a 'robe' yearly.

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pelure,[1] consisting of a closed or buttoned supertunic a tabard, two furred tippets, and a furred garnage or over-mantle[2] of the livery of the bishop of Worcester. Isabel Pipard became the possessor of an almost new suit furred with pelure, with a long tabard and a furred hood of the livery of the bishop of Lincoln. This was at Stamford, but at Swalcliffe there was a remnant of two ells of new cloth from the piece out of which the robe had been made. Another suit with a tippet furred with good pelure, and a long cloak of the same suit furred with grey fur were also left to Isabel. Such clothes might be more easily adapted to a lady's use than the clerical clothes of our own day. The archdeacon's aunt was provided with a handsome 'robe' well furred with good pelure, with a long furred tabard, a closed supertunic, a furred and a lined tippet, which after her death was to be divided among her married daughters. Alice Marchaunt had one of her half-brother's summer suits, lined with blue cambric, with a long tabard and two tippets, one lined, the other unlined. A piece of new cloth, not cut, for a 'robe' of the livery of the abbot of Oseney was left to the archdeacon's nephew at Oxford, while one of his Dartmouth nephews had a similar piece of the livery of the abbot of Torre, who, it may be remembered, was the rector of Townstall, the parish in which Dartmouth is situated. If the younger of these nephews went to Oxford, he was to have a coat furred with black fur and a lined tippet of the same suit, which otherwise was to belong to his elder brother.

The description of all these garments is somewhat similar. Their colour is not often stated. A new blue robe furred with pelure and a long cloak furred with vair of the same suit were bequeathed to Alexander Sporman, the chantry priest of All Saints', Oxford,[3] on condition that he paid the furrier, Nicholas Garland, or his servant Henry a bill of fifty shillings. Robert Saundres, the archdeacon's bailiff at Swalcliffe, would find a red robe

[1] In *Vision of Piers Plowman*, passus xix (ed. Wright, l. 13793), pelure is spoken of as a fur appropriate to cardinals: 'And we clerkes, whan thei come, For hir comunes paieth, For hir pelure and hir palfreyes mete, And pilours that hem folweth.'

[2] See Ducange, s.v. Garnachia. It was a long sleeveless mantle worn over the other clothes. A French account of 1351, cited by Ducange, defines it as 'une garnache, ou long mantel fendu à un costé.'

[3] See note 2 on p. 247 above.

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furred with pelure in the keeping of master Richard Medmenham, the rector of Upton-on-Severn.[1] John, vicar of All Saints', Stamford,[2] was to have a blue overmantle furred, with a tippet not furred of the same; while one Adam Snarteford had a similar legacy of red colour. The archdeacon's favourite fur was pelure, but some of his suits and coats were furred with the grey fur known as gris.[3] William, a chaplain in Oseney abbey, had a suit furred with this material. A long coat left to a poor chaplain and a coat and tippet left to the vicar of St. Andrew's, Stamford,[4] were similarly furred. The executors were to present a blue robe furred with gris to any poor rector in the archdeaconry of Leicester, while a poor vicar in the same was to have a cloak furred with gris and a lined tippet. To Henry, the vicar who served the cure of souls at Swalcliffe,[5] was bequeathed a robe lined with red cambric or lawn, while a furred tunic and supertunic with two tippets, furred and lined, of the bishop of Worcester's livery, came to the share of the chaplain

[1] Medmenham was, as will be seen, one of Doune's executors. He was probably an Oxford friend of the archdeacon's, as, on 22nd January, 1351–1352, he was instituted to the free chapel of Kibworth Harcourt, Leices. at the presentation of the warden and scholars of Merton hall (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 354 d). His resignation is not recorded. Bishop Brian collated the church of Alvechurch to him, 8th April, 1359 (Worces. ep. reg. Brian, i, f. 26 d), but he exchanged it for Upton-on-Severn on 2nd May following (ibid. f. 27). On 5th May, 1361, he exchanged Upton for St. Helen's, Worcester (ibid. f. 33), and this church he exchanged on the same day with John Doune (see note 3 on p. 254 above) for Hartlebury (ibid.). He appears to have died before 16th October, 1361, when a vacancy at Hartlebury was filled up (ibid. f. 38 d). It will be noticed that the year of pestilence, 1361, was fatal to many of Doune's friends as well as to himself. Nash (*Hist. Worces.* ii, 448) omits Medmenham's name from his list of the rectors of Upton.

[2] John, son of Roger Wadyngworth, was instituted 19th April, 1360 (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 92). John Normanton, probably the same person, vacated the vicarage by death before 12th July, 1361 (ibid. f. 98 d).

[3] cf. Chaucer's monk, *Cant. Tales*, A, 194:

I seigh his sleves purfiled at the hond
With grys, and that the fyneste of a lond.

[4] John Castreton, instituted 1st May, 1359 (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 88). He died by 5th January, 1363–4 (ibid. x, f. 5).

[5] Henry Wryght of Tichmarsh, priest, instituted to the vicarage on the presentation of Richard Whitewell, rector (see note 1 on p. 248 above), 30th January, 1349–50 (ibid. ix, f. 198 d). The next institution to the vicarage was on 10th March, 1379–80: no reason of vacancy given (ibid. x, f. 370). The vicarage, which had long existed (cf. *Rotuli Hug. Welles* [Cant. and York Soc.] ii, 9), was a presentable benefice with a fixed endowment out of the fruits of the living, and the vicar could not therefore be removed at the will of the rector: cf. Decretal. 1, xxviii, cap. 3, *Ad. bec.* It should also be noted that, although there was a vicar at Swalcliffe, who held his office at the presentation of the rector, the rector was not thereby wholly absolved from the cure of souls. Lyndewode, commenting upon Peckham's constitution *Preterea*, distinguishes in such cases as Swalcliffe, where the church was not annexed to a prebend or dignity but was an independent benefice, between the cure of souls incumbent on the rector *habitu et quoad proprietatem*, and that incumbent on the vicar *quoad exercitium et effectum*.

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at Epwell. More exceptional is the coat lined with Irish hare-skins left, with other clothing, to the archdeacon's servant, Walter Achym. Another robe furred with pelure, with a long tabard and two tippets, one furred, the other lined, was left to some devout priest unbeneficed, a student in theology at Oxford, even if he happened to be domiciled in some 'perpetual hall' in that university or was a bachelor of theology. Generous provision was made for the poor. Thirty ells of linen cloth deposited at Stamford and 63¼ ells of canvas cloth with more of the same were to be divided among weak and impotent poor folk. The poorer of these were to have at any rate enough to make them a small linen sheet, a shirt and breeches, while the distribution to the others was to be regulated in proportion to their poverty. Similarly all his own body-linen and all linen clothes not already bequeathed were left for division among the poor. In this distribution his old parishioners at Quainton were to have the preference. His partiality for Stamford[1] is again shown in his bequest of a red Irish mantle to some poor old man of that place.

It is rather significant of his calling that he left no vestments for use in church, unless these appeared in one of the lost portions of his will. An archdeacon was a busy man of affairs, little to be distinguished from a lay lawyer except that he was in holy orders and was chiefly concerned with the ecclesiastical side of his profession. It is even now necessary to remind people that the mediaeval clergy did not walk about the streets in copes and chasubles, and that the mitre was not the only head-gear of a bishop. Master William Doune's clerical career is seen purely in its legal and worldly aspect, and it is evident that he did not take the trouble to amass those costly collections of chapel furniture, altar-hangings, service-books, and vestments, which are features of the wills and inventories of some of the higher clergy and nobility of his day. The ornaments of his everyday dress were sparing, and all that he mentions in this connexion are three girdles—his best girdle of black silk with silver gilt ornaments, fastened by a clasp in the middle

[1] For the possible reasons of this see note 1 on p. 246 above.

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with an enamelled pendant, a second best one with harnessings unspecified, and a third of silk harnessed with silver engraved with figures of birds.

We have seen that Doune disposed of his silver spoons to his relations. Of the rest of his plate and jewels, he left to the prior of Launceston a silver cup, which had belonged to his father, with a cover which he himself had had made for it. On the foot of the cup was his father's shield. To the abbot of Eynsham, the original donor, he left a silver-gilt and enamelled cup, the foot of which he had broken. With this cup went a cover and finger-bowl to match. Master John Belvoir,[1] one of his executors, was to choose the best mazer for himself; master Richard Medmenham, the other, was to have the second best; Belvoir also was to keep a knife with an ivory handle which he had given to the archdeacon, and a cup of fine glass. All the other silver cups and vessels were to be broken up and made into chalices, of which three were to be given to the churches of Quainton, Georgeham and St. Endellion respectively. Of six rings, the bishop of Exeter was to have the best, the bishop of Lincoln the second, the bishop of Worcester the third best: the remaining three were to go to the executors. A 'nouche'[2] with a ring which was in the great coffer in the dorter at Oseney was left to the Cistercian abbey of Dore in Herefordshire, for reasons which it is difficult to divine, as it lay outside the region of his activities.

[1] John Belvoir (Johannes de Belvero), Doune's official and executor, was instituted to the church of Faldingworth, between Lincoln and Market Rasen, 27th September, 1352 (Lincoln ep. reg. ix, f. 116). This he exchanged for Bratoft, near Spilsby, in September, 1353 (ibid. f. 58), exchanging this in the same month (no day is given) for Kirkby Mallory, Leices. (ibid. f. 314 and d). He resigned Kirkby Mallory by 18th December, 1361 (ibid. f. 334 d), having been instituted to Charlton-on-Otmoor, Oxon. on 12th October previously (ibid. f. 277 d). On 25th January, 1361–2, he had collation of St. Botolph's prebend in Lincoln (ibid. f. 446 d), which he vacated by death before 6th August, 1391 (ibid. xi, f. 435). He had collation of Crick, Northants. 13th March, 1368–9 (ibid. x, f. 174 d). It is probable that he resigned Charlton-on-Otmoor in 1368. At any rate, on 9th May, 1368, bishop Buckingham commissioned the abbot of Leicester to effect an exchange of the churches of Lutterworth and Charlton between the rector of the first of these and John Belvoir (ibid. xii, f. 59). There is no record that this was accomplished; but Giles Cloune, previously rector of Lutterworth, resigned Charlton in 1369 (ibid. x, ff. 245 d, 336), and Belvoir may have resigned Lutterworth on obtaining Crick. He exchanged Crick and his Lincoln prebend for the subdeanery of Lincoln, 6th May, 1378 (ibid. x, f. 210 d), which he may have vacated shortly afterwards (Le Neve, ii, 39), but probably kept till his death in 1391 (Lincoln ep. reg. xi, f. 435).

[2] i.e. a clasp or other setting for a jewel. cf. Chaucer, *Hous of Fame*, 1350: 'nouchis Fulle of the fynest stones faire, That men rede in the Lapidaire.' See also Exodus xxxix, 6: 'onyx stones inclosed in ouches of gold.'

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Neither the plate and jewels nor the furniture make a very imposing list. The archdeacon's new 'dorser,' the tapestry hanging behind his chair in the rectory at Swalcliffe,[1] with three 'bankers,'[2] or coverings for benches to match, were to pass to his successor in that benefice. Bed-furniture at Swalcliffe, consisting of a coverlet and tester or canopy of the same suit, with two 'whytels' or blankets and two linen sheets in indifferent condition, was left to his nephew Thomas Waryn. His best bed —that is to say, the coverlet and tester—worked with saffron-coloured roses, became the property of his brother Thomas. This appears to have been one of the three beds deposited with the Stanleys at Stamford. Another of these, dark blue in colour, was bequeathed to William and Agnes Stanley; while, as already stated, the great red bed formed part of Isabel Pipard's conditional legacy. An old coverlet without a tester, also at Stamford, was left to Emmot Skilyngton, a poor woman of that place, whose son became the owner of a small piece of russet cloth. Possibly these two were William Stanley's servants. A few other blankets and linen sheets, left to Walter Achym and others, concludes the furniture mentioned in the will. It is possible that other pieces occurred in the missing portion at the end, and we know that the usual inventory of goods and furniture was attached to the original document.

The archdeacon's dispositions regarding his books form one of the most interesting portions of the will. There is possibly no more extensive list of the working library of an ecclesiastical lawyer, or one which gives so much evidence of the owner's industry in the pursuit of his chosen study. The foundation of his library was, of course, the texts which compose the corpus of the civil and canon laws. The names of these are well known to all students of mediaeval history and law. The *Codex* of imperial constitutions issued by Justinian, the Pandects or Digest, which was the result of the collation of the

[1] Doune's predecessor at Swalcliffe, Richard Whitwell, bequeathed to master John Carlton, rector of Sutton, his *aula* or halling of Jesse with dorser (*dosserium*) and costers or side-hangings (*Lincoln Wills*, ut sup. 9).

[2] Geoffrey Scrope, canon of Lincoln, bequeathed to Thomas his chamberlain his Norfolk bed worked with birds, with its carpets and 'banquers' (ibid. 17).

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various text-books of the Roman common law,[1] the Institutes or summary of law for students, and the *Novellae* or imperial constitutions of Justinian and some of his immediate successors, formed the body of civil law. The division of the canon law was also fourfold, consisting of the *Decretum* of Gratian, the Decretals codified by Gregory IX (1227–41), with the sixth book added by Boniface VIII (1295–1305), the Clementine constitutions issued by Clement V at the council of Vienne (1311), and the Extravagants or additional constitutions.[2] To these a multitude of mediaeval jurists had added glosses or comments which, to lawyers practising in the ecclesiastical courts, were of equal value with the original texts; and of these commentaries or digests the archdeacon possessed a considerable number. His copy of the *Summa* of Azo of Bologna, the most celebrated mediaeval text-book of Roman law, composed early in the thirteenth century, had been borrowed from Torre abbey, and he held a book of decretals in pawn from the abbot of Eynsham. These, with several other borrowed books, he restored to their owners. The rest of his books were disposed of as follows. To young William Stanley of Stamford he bequeathed a book of decretals with an apparatus or commentary, the sixth book of the decretals with a like supplement and the gloss of the cardinal—that is, the commentary of Henry of Susa,[3] cardinal bishop of Ostia, on the decretals—all in one volume, together with a corrected copy of the similar commentary of Innocent IV,[4] in the beginning of which the archdeacon had written with his own hand his directions for its disposal. A set of volumes of civil and canon law profusely annotated by himself were left for the use of one of his nephews, either Robert Bozoun or the

[1] The Digest was usually divided in three sections, viz. (1) Digestum vetus, comprising tit. i-xxiv. 2; (2) Digestum infortiatum, tit. xxiv, 3-xxxviii; (3) Digestum novum, tit. xxxix-l (Hunter, *Exposition of Roman law*, 101).

[2] Now divided into the twenty *Extravagantes* of John XXII (1316–34) and the *Extravagantes communes* of various popes, embracing decretals issued after the date of the *Liber sextus decretalium*.

[3] Henri de Suze (Henricus de Segusio), bishop of Sisteron 1241–50, archbishop of Embrun 1250–62, cardinal bishop of Ostia 1262–71, known as *fons et splendor juris*. His chief work, *Summa utriusque juris*, was commonly known as the *Aurea summa Hostiensis*.

[4] *Solennis apparatus Innocencii pape quarti super quinque libros decretalium*. Innocent IV (Sinibaldo de' Fieschi) was pope 1243–54. Richard Ravenser left a copy of the fifth book of the commentary (*R.A.I.* Lincoln vol. ut sup.).

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young scholar Lovecok at Oxford. Within four years after his death, his executors and the abbot of Oseney were to decide which of the two was the fitter and more promising student. They were then to supply the young man with a little volume of civil law, and, when he had mastered this, he was to have copies, variously described, of the Codex and Digests. After studying in civil law for five years, he would receive a volume of the decretals, an 'Innocent,' a sixth book of the decretals with three glosses or commentaries; with which were bound up the commentary of Dino da Mugello[1] and part of the *Novellae* of Giovanni di Andrea of Bologna,[2] and a volume containing the Clementine constitutions with five glosses and the Extravagants with one gloss. He was not, however, to become the owner of these volumes. He must give surety, in case he could or would not use them or any of them, or in case he did not prosper in his studies, to return them to the real proprietors. In any case, when he reached the age of sixty, or, if he did not live to that age, some time, allowing that this were possible, before his death, or at any rate within a month after his death, the books were to be given up. Meanwhile he must keep and preserve them safe, untorn, unbroken, untrodden on, without deterioration or the possibility of it, so far as he was able; nor must he alienate, pawn, or lend them. The permanent proprietorship was left to the abbot and convent of Oseney under these conditions. If neither of the boys proved apt for the study of law, or if neither received the books, or both died within the prescribed time, the books were to be sold by the abbot, and the money employed for pious uses, a hundred

[1] Professor of law at Bologna and one of the assistants of Boniface VIII in the redaction of the *Liber sextus decretalium*. He died in 1313.

[2] Johannes Andreae, perhaps the most famous fourteenth-century canonist, called *eximius et monarca doctor* and *subtilissimus pontificii juris interpres*, who taught at Bologna 1303–48. His *novellae* formed part of his commentary on the decretals. The portion referred to here is the commentary on the *Titulus de regulis juris*, which forms the concluding section of the *Liber sextus*. Among Ravenser's books was a *Liber sextus* with the gloss of John (i.e. Giovanni di Andrea), and the gloss of Dino upon the title *De regulis juris*, while in the same book was a copy of the Clementine constitutions with Giovanni's gloss. See *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees soc.) i, 324, for a bequest of a copy of 'Joannis Andree in Novella super Decretalibus et sexto' in three vols. At the end of a long manuscript list of jurists written in 1552 by one Henry Gybbons at the beginning of a legal note-book, which is preserved at Lincoln, occurs the note, 'Joannes Andreas in iure canonico et Bartolus in iure ciuili, numquam erravere aut rarius quam ceteri interpretes.'

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shillings of it being reserved to the common uses of the monastery. But if the provisions regarding the use of the books by one of his young kinsmen were fulfilled, then, after the use or usufruct prescribed by the terms of the will had expired, the books were to be given in the same way to another young student of the archdeacon's blood. As each usufruct expired, the books were to be handed on upon the same terms to other kinsmen of his own blood or of the blood of either of his parents until the sixth usufruct was concluded. Then the usufruct and proprietorship were to be consolidated and the books were to remain to the abbot and convent for ever, to be applied to their common use. In order, however, that the proprietors might obtain some immediate benefit from this bequest, each student who enjoyed the usufruct must guarantee to pay forty shillings to the abbot within a month after the books were returned, and promise to give counsel and aid to the monastery as long as he lived.[1] The archdeacon had already left £10 to each of the nephews in question. The one who should go to the university was bequeathed £7 in addition. This sum, with the original £10, was to be placed in the hands of the abbot of Oseney, who, after paying the student £3 to begin with, was directed to supply him at the rate of £2 a year during the seven years covered by his legal studies. It is possible that Robert Bozoun was the eventual beneficiary in the matter of the books and seven pounds: there is at any rate some reason to connect him with the Robert Bozoun who was chancellor of Exeter from about 1383 to 1388.[2]

The abbot of Oseney was also the final depositary of the books the usufruct of which was left by the archdeacon to his executors, master Richard Medmenham and master John Belvoir, his official, then rector of Kirkby Mallory.[3] Medmenham's books included a copy of Giovanni di Andrea's commentary upon the old decretals,[4] a text of the sixth book of the decretals, a text of

[1] The remarkable ingenuity of these provisions, which are uncommon, if not unique for their date, is worthy of notice.

[2] He was chancellor in 1383–4 (*Exeter ep. reg. Brantyngham*, ed. Randolph, 516), but general information as to his career seems to be wanting, and the dates of his obtaining and quitting the chancellorship are not known.

[3] See notes 1, p. 257, and 1, p. 259 above.

[4] i.e his *Summa* upon the first five books of the decretals.

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the Clementine constitutions in the archdeacon's own hand, the provincial constitutions of the archbishops of Canterbury,[1] the legatine constitutions of Oddo and Ottobuono, the statutes of the court of arches, various copies of bulls and other documents very useful for a pleader in the ecclesiastical courts. Medmenham also had the use of two of the archdeacon's commonplace books, repertories of forms similar to the book in which the copy of the will exists. One of these is described as 'a great and very thick book containing many reasons and allegations of advocates in causes at issue in the apostolic palace, and many things of high advantage to a pleader, especially in the court of Rome.' The other was 'the great quire or book which I was wont to carry about with me, written partly on parchment and partly on paper, wherein I have noted and arranged the matter under headings, as it were alphabetically; and here will be found the sayings of Innocent and of the archdeacon *in rosario*[2] and the matters written in the said thick book, and I make frequent reference to my own speeches and lectures written on paper, the which I also leave to him.' These books, at the expiry of Medmenham's tenure, were to be sold by the abbot, who was to keep 40s. out of the profits for himself, and 40s. for the common uses of the monastery.

Master John Belvoir's books were the *Summa* of the cardinal of Ostia, the commentaries of Mandegodus, who, like the cardinal, had been archbishop of Embrun,[3] both well corrected and annotated by the archdeacon, and a book of sermons which had been a present from master John himself. These also were to revert to the abbot, who after the sale was to keep a mark for himself. The

[1] The subordinate relation of the text-books of English canon law mentioned here to the vast body of juristic literature to which they are a small supplement for local use has been pointed out by Maitland, *Canon Law in England*. It should be noted that a very considerable proportion of the decretals are founded upon precedents relating to the affairs of English dioceses which came before the popes. Thus four out of six chapters of 1, tit. xxviii, *De officio vicarii*, and eight out of eighteen of tit. xvii, *De filiis presbiterorum ordinandis vel non*, are primarily concerned with English cases.

[2] i.e. the *Rosarium*, a commentary on the decretals, by Guido da Baiso, archdeacon of Bologna in the later part of the thirteenth century. This gloss of the archdeacon *par excellence* was one of the most famous treatises of canon law: Ravenser, e.g. left a copy of *Archidiaconus in Rosario super decretalibus*.

[3] Guillaume de Mandegot, one of Boniface VIII's assistants in compiling the *Liber sextus*.

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same conditions of reversion and sale applied to the commonplace book which has been already described as compiled by William Doune while in the service of the bishop of Exeter, and to a copy of the *Novellae* of Giovanni di Andrea upon the sixth book of the decretals, which were left to master Thomas Pepir, apparently the archdeacon's notary. This *Novellae* lacked the portion dealing with the title or division *De regulis juris*, which had been left with the other law-books to the young student. The lectures of Clynus on the old digest[1] and *Petrus super inforciato*[2] were left to master Richard Medmenham, if he became an inceptor in civil law: otherwise they were to pass to master John Derworth, without any condition of reversion. Clynus on the codex, however, was left for the use of master John Derworth,[3] as long as he studied at a university or practised in the papal court or the court of Canterbury; after which it was to be returned to the abbot of Oseney and to be sold by him, retaining half a mark for his own use. The archdeacon's books of sermons were left to Robert, prior of Oseney, with reversion to the monastery.

A few other books were directed to be sold by the executors, all good volumes with corrections. These were two copies of the *Decretum*, the *Rosarium* of archdeacon Guy, the *Lectura* of the cardinal of Ostia in two volumes, the *Speculum juris* of Guillaume Durand, bishop of Mende,[4] and the *Addiciones* or supplements of Giovanni di Andrea to the old decretals. The money from these was to be devoted to the fulfilment of the purposes of the will, and especially to the foundation of the two chantries. But, if this could be done out of his

[1] Clynus is an author difficult to identify. The word *Clyni*, misread by Mr. A. P. Moore as *olym*, is perfectly clear in the original. Probably it is a mistake either for *Cyni*, in which case the author is the famous jurist and poet, Cino da Pistoia, or for *Dyni*, i.e. Dino da Mugello, who, however, is also referred to in the will as 'Dignus.'

[2] The *Petri Exceptiones legum Romanarum*, dedicated to Odilo, 'Valentine civitatis magistro magnifico,' was a compilation of legal cases founded on the *Corpus juris civilis*. The authorship and date are uncertain: 'on the whole, the weight of argument seems to favour Italy and a date not far from 1075' (H. O. Morgan, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 1911, ii, 232). The *inforciatum* is the second portion of the Digest: see note 1, on p. 261 above.

[3] The writer has discovered nothing relating to this clerk.

[4] Guillaume Durand de Saint-Pourçain, born 1232, bishop of Mende 1286–96, best known to-day as the author of the famous *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. The *Speculum juris*, also called *Speculum judiciale*, was one of the chief repertories of canon law. The indefatigable Giovanni di Andrea wrote *additiones* to it.

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other goods, as he hoped, the executors were ordered to apply the money at their discretion to pious and meritorious uses. For his pains as executor Medmenham inherited ten pounds, and Belvoir ten marks.

Those who have studied such invaluable collections of wills as the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, which we owe to the Surtees Society, know of what value these documents are for the illustration of mediaeval life. The Institute has lately been able to appreciate the fulness of the information which can be gleaned from them upon one subject alone in the extracts gleaned from Northamptonshire wills by Mr. Serjeantson and Mr. Longden.[1] But William Doune's will, in addition to the numerous details which it contains relating to clothes, books and the testator's other possessions, was composed with a revelation of personal character which comparatively few wills contain. It belongs to the earliest period at which English wills begin to be plentiful. While such wills often help, especially in the case of the higher clergy, to add to our knowledge of the testators, there is none which does this with equal fulness, and certainly none which so thoroughly fulfils its ultimate use, after five and a half centuries, of bringing before us the man in his habit as he lived. We can only regret that the document is in so fragmentary a condition; it is much to be hoped that by some fortunate chance a perfect copy may be found to exist. The careful inclusion of the text in a book compiled some fifty years after the testator's death leads one to think it possible that other clerks thought a copy worth preserving. Perhaps the most curious incident in the history of the document is the unexplained chance which brought the book to Peterborough and into the registry of the diocese in which the archdeaconry of Leicester is at present included.

The account here given of William Doune's bequests does not exhaust the contents of the will, which may be studied at length in the text which follows. To this,

[1] See *Archaeol. Journ.* lxx, 217–452: *The Parish Churches of Northamptonshire: their dedications, altars, images and lights.* Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A. has also collected much information from wills with regard to Sussex churches, and Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A. has published similar information relating to West Kent churches in the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.*

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where necessary, additional notes have been appended. The writer desires to express his thanks to the officials of the diocesan registry at Peterborough, and especially to Mr. A. Hill, for the facilities given him for access at all times to the valuable volume in their custody. Mr. G. G. Coulton has also aided him in the interpretation of some of the more obscure passages.

## TEXT OF THE WILL.

The full Latin text of the document is added here. The marginal notes of the names of legatees have in part disappeared, owing to the damage which the book has suffered, but can easily be restored where they partially remain. In its present state the will begins abruptly as follows:[1]

[Fo. 157] in vsum ad quem legantur conuerti faciet fideliter et insolidum applicari, vel saltem se obliget in duplo simpliciter executoribus meis, recepta eorum defesancia,[2] vt de religiosis premisi, vel ad ultimum iuret vt predixi; et eciam sub pena late excommunicacionis sentencie quam incurrat si hoc non fecerit ipso facto, ad conuertendum et applicandum dictam partem legatam in vsum construccionis cancelli infra dictum tempus per judicem competentem ecclesiasticum condempnetur, et ab ea non possit absolui donec ipsa tota pecunia fuerit in vsum huiusmodi insolidum applicata; et possit, eo non vocato nec audito, ad solam assercionem eciam verbalem eciam vnius executorum meorum dicentis alicui seu cuicumque judici ecclesiastico quod dictus rector condempnacioni huiusmodi non paruerit, excommunicatus publice eciam vbicumque in Anglia nunciari; et ad premissa consenciat expresse et iuret ea non impedire, et super hiis habeantur publica documenta. Si vero vltra annum dimidium a die notificacionis dicti legati et adempcionis quam infra faciam et formis[3] ac modis vtriusque earum[4] facte dicto rectori, eciam per relacionem litteralem vel verbalem eciam vnius executorum meorum,[5] securitatem talem facere distulerit et quilibet eorundem, ex nunc prout ex tunc et e converso huiusmodi legatum reuoco, subduco, et volo in illum euentum quod x marce de ipso legato sic adempto in fabricam seu reparacionem nauis ipsius ecclesie de Hamme et clausuram cimiterij sui, x marce inter pauperiores et debiliores presbiteros archidiaconatuum Tottonie, Barnestapolie et Exonie in ecclesia Exoniensi, x marce ad fabricam monasterij ecclesie[6] de Niweham, Exoniensis diocesis, et x marce ad fabricam ecclesie monasterij Lancestonie, quinque marce ad fabricam seu reparacionem ecclesie fratrum minorum Exonie, et quinque ad vsus similes predicatorum et abiectorum

[1] The opening obviously refers to a legacy of 60 marks (£40) towards the construction of the chancel of Georgeham church.

[2] i.e. the executors were bound, as their part of the contract, to execute a deed of defeasance, rendering the rector's obligation null and void in case of their own failure to fulfil the conditions.

[3] Sic: *sub formis* is needed.

[4] Sic: *earum* refers to *legati et adempcionis*, taking the gender of the second word.

[5] Written *morum* in original.

[6] Sic: for *ecclesie monasterii*.

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fratrum mendicancium vndecumque fuerint in Anglia, et x marce inter pauperiores scolares vniuersitatis Oxoniensis conuertantur et eciam distribuantur.[1]

*Cancell' de [Que]ynton'.* Item eodem modo per omnia lego xl li. ad construccionem noui cancelli in dicta ecclesia de Queyntone, soluendas sub condicione et modo predictis[2] adiectis in consimili legato relicto ad vsum similem, vt premisi. Et eodem modo adimo hoc legatum sicut a quo et quali ademi illud; in quem euentum adempcionis volo quod x marce ex ipso legato ad fabricam seu reparacionem nauis seu fenestrarum nauis ipsius ecclesie vel ad facturam muri lapidei vel fossate spinee bone circa cimiterium ipsius ecclesie, item quinque marce inter pauperiores parochianos eiusdem, et v marce inter pauperes presbiteros nequeuntes celebrare, quinque marce in reparacionem ecclesie et claustri monasterij sancte Fredeswyde, et x marce ad fabricam seu reparacionem[3] domorum necessariarum eiusdem, v marce ad vsum consimilem monasterij de Nottle, v marce ad vsus similes fratrum minorum Oxonie, v marce ad vsum similem fratrum predicatorum, v fratrum carmelitarum, et relique v marce ad vsus similes fratrum Augustinensium Oxonie conuertantur et eciam applicentur.

*Swalcly[ve].* Item lego ad construccionem et reparacionem domorum necessariarum ac clausurarum rectorie de Swalclyue[4] et de Eppelwell', Shutteford et la Lee, non obstantibus sumptibus eciam excessiuis et vtilibus per me oppositis in hac parte, xl marcas sterlingorum soluendas, si et vt rector eiusdem ecclesie de Swalclyue pro tempore meus successor sufficienter caueat de tota huiusmodi pecunia in vsus huiusmodi infra annum vel biennium ex causa tantummodo et insolidum applicanda, et sic caueat infra dimidium annum a die notificacionis huiusmodi legati sibi facte sub forma quam de notificacione facienda rectori ecclesie de Hamme superius expressaui. Sufficienciam vero huiusmodi caucionis volo per executorum meorum arbitrium declarari, et non sicut in iure cauetur, qui consideracionem habeant ad condicionem et qualitatem persone ipsius rectoris, et alias iuxta discrecionem eis adeo datam. Huic eciam legato hanc condicionem appono, videlicet, si et dummodo ipse rector executores meos absoluat et quietet super defectibus pretensis seu pretendendis forte per eum inueniendis in dictis locis et domibus et clausuris tempore mortis mee, et non vexet eos nec conueniat super eis aut eorum occasione [fo. 157 d], et si et dummodo caueat sufficienter, saltem litterali obligacione c marcarum simplici, recepta correspondenti et conuenienti defesancia, vt in talibus superius explicaui, quod executores testamenti domini Ricardi de Whitewell' predecessoris mei occasione huiusmodi defectuum suo tempore imminencium seu contingencium non vexabit nec conueniet, nec agat quomodolibet contra eos nec aliquem eorundem, set ipsos eciam consimiliter absoluat et quietet; et tunc huiusmodi obligacio c marcarum nullius penitus sit momenti: alioquin in sua plena remaneat firmitate.

*Enduliente.* Item lego x li. sterlingorum ad fabricam seu reparacionem cancelli dicte ecclesie sancte Endeliente, si et dummodo rector curatus ipsius ecclesie et sui comporcionarij ibidem sic securent,

[1] Written *distribantur*.
[2] Written *predictos*.
[3] Here follow in the original copy the words *de Nottele v marce*, with *vacat* interlined in the usual way.
[4] Written *Swlaclyue*.

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prout de rectore de Hamme superius prelibaui: alioquin pars istius legati in reparacionem et vsum nauis ipsius ecclesie, et alia dimidia pars in empcionem pannorum pro pauperioribus et miserabilioribus parochianis ipsius ecclesie conuertantur.

Item lego ad emendacionem et reparacionem cancellorum[1] ecclesiarum archidiaconatus Leycestrie c marcas sterlingorum iuxta arbitrium executorum meorum in periculo animarum suarum distribuendas; de quibus x li. in cancellorum, videlicet tectorum, murorum et fenestrarum cancellorum huiusmodi ecclesiarum vnitarum monasterio beate Marie de Pratis iuxta Leycestriam infra eundem archidiaconatum, et quinque marce in vsus similes cancellorum ecclesiarum sic vnitarum[2] monasterio de Landa, eiusdem archidiaconatus, precipue conuertantur. Item lego ad reparacionem nauium ecclesiarum pauperiorum dicti archidiaconatus xx marcas, et ad emendacionem et clausuram cimiteriorum ecclesiarum huiusmodi x marcas. Item ad empcionem et reparacionem librorum et vestimentorum ecclesiarum in quibus maior defectus talium iam existit, xx li.

*[H]amme Queyntone [E]ndeliente pro li[bris et] uestimentis.* Item ad vsum similem ecclesie de Hamme quinque marcas, et ad vsum similem ecclesie de Queyntone predictarum x marcas, et ad vsum similem[3] ecclesie sancte Endeliente predicte xls.

*[Presbiter]is et clericis in [eccles]ia Lincolniensi.* Item pauperioribus presbiteris celebrantibus in ecclesia Lincolniensi deuotis et honestis indigentibus c s. vt pro me orent, et pauperibus clericis deuotis et castis ministrantibus in eadem xls. sub modo simili.

*[Ex]oniensi monasterio.*[4] Item talibus presbiteris celebrantibus in ecclesia Exoniensi xls. et consimilibus clericis in eadem ministrantibus xx s. sub modis similibus. Item presbiteris non promotis capelle domini mei Exoniensis xls. distribuendos secundum arbitrium suum. Item familie sue lxs. distribuendos eodem modo.

*[Capellanis] episcopi Exoniensis.*

*[Clericis] episcopi Lincolniensis.* Item presbiteris non promotis clericis et familiaribus ceteris domini mei episcopi Lincolniensis iuxta eius arbitrium distribuendas[5] quinque marcas, et specialiter domino Henrico capellano capelle sue xxs. qui in legato generis[6] non concurrat.

*[Clericis] episcopi Wygorniensis.* Item presbiteris non promotis et familie domini mei Wygorniensis quinque marcas; et inde specialiter domini Edwardus Hunt xs. et Augustinus presbiteri capelle sue xs. de legato generali huiusmodi habeant et percipiant.

*[I]n theologia [studentib]us Oxonie.* Item lego pauperibus notabiliter magistris in artibus et aliqualiter pauperibus talibus magistris in theologia Oxonie studentibus x li. ita quod ipsi in theologia duplum respectum percipiant regencium in hoc cauendum.[7]

[1] *huiusmodi* follows, expunged.

[2] Written *vntarum*.

[3] Written *simile*.

[4] The word is also used below with reference to Lincoln in the general sense of 'minster.' Exeter and Lincoln were of course churches of secular canons.

[5] Written *distibuendas*.

[6] Sic: *generali* is meant, though *generis* is not impossible.

[7] This is a curious passage and is probably corrupt. The words *in b° cau'* (*in hoc cauendum*) look as though they may be a copyist's error for *in iure can[onico]*. Mr. A. P. Moore noted the difficulty among his extracts from the will, but without commenting upon the textual error. Dr. Andrew Clark suggested to him that the double allowance was left to cover 'the expense of a compulsory entertainment

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*Newebam monasterio.* Item lego priori et conuentui monasterij Lancestonie ad fabricam monasterij sui xx marcas, et abbati et conuentui monasterij de Neweham ad vsum similem x marcas. Item priori et conuentui Plymptonie ad vsum similem, v marcas.

*[Tor]re.* Item abbati et conuentui monasterij de Torre ad fabricam claustri sui ibidem, cs. Item abbati et conuentui de

*[Ta]uystok.* Tauystok ad vsum similem, xls. Item abbati et conuentui

*[Aby]ndone.* monasterij Abyndonie ad vsum similem, cs. Priori et

*[Bur]cestre.* conuentui de Burcestria ad vsum similem, si et dummodo prior ibidem pecuniam non imburset, set in solidum in

*[Wync]becombe.* vsum huiusmodi conuertatur, cs. Abbati et conuentui monasterij de Wynchecombe ad vsum similem et sub condicione et modo similibus, cs.

*Nottele.* [Fo. 158] Abbati et conuentui monasterij de Nottele ad

*Landa.* vsum similem, lxs. Priori et conuentui de Landa ad vsum similem, lxs.

*Cirencestre.* Item abbati et conuentui[1] monasterij de Cirencestria, Wygorniensis diocesis, ad vsum communem et necessarium eorum, v marcas.

*Lantony.* Item priori[2] bono et grato ac conuentui monasterij de Lantony ad reparacionem claustri sui ibidem, cs.

*Spaldyng.* Priori et conuentui de Spaldyng ad fabricam ecclesie monasterij sui, v marcas.

*Eynesham.* Abbati et conuentui de Eynesham ad vsum ecclesie, claustri, dormitorij et refectorij, x marcas.

*Sancte Frydeswyde.* Item priori sancte Fredeswyde ad fabricam seu necessariam reparacionem ecclesie, claustri, refectorij, dormitorij et officinarum necessariarum ibidem, si et dummodo frater Nicholaus ibi prior pecuniam huiusmodi non inburset nec in alios vsus applicet, et de hoc securitatem faciat executoribus meis, x li.

*Forde.* Item abbati et conuentui monasterij de Forde, Exoniensis diocesis, ad vsus communes ipsius maius[3] necessarios, quinque marcas, et liberacionem omnium que michi debeat,[4] dumtaxat si fideliter custodierint et liberauerint executoribus meis[5] bona mea ibidem deposita, de quibus habeo indenturam sub sigillo abbatis ibidem: tunc et non aliter habeant hec legata et eis gaudeant, et alias non, set executores mei eos conueniant in curia seculari pro duabus marcis annue pensionis et j roba omni anno per xj annos aretro existentibus[6] et non solutis, que[7] obligacio sub sigillo suo communi est inter alias in magna coffra mea stante in dormitorio Oseneye. Lego vero eisdem de Forde abbati et conuentui liberacionem x marcarum eis alias mutuo datarum per me, de quibus est eciam in dicta coffra obligacio qui[8] ille mihi, vt estimo,

given by a new D.D. on the occasion of his admission to Regency (technically called Inception)'; and this explanation, rejected by Mr. Moore, who took *respectum* in a wrong sense, has been suggested independently to the present writer by Mr. Coulton.

[1] *de* expunged.

[2] *et conventui* expunged.

[3] Sic: for *magis*.

[4] Sic: for *debeant*.

[5] Written *meas*, probably by incomplete alteration from *meos*.

[6] Written *existibus*.

[7] Written *quo*.

[8] The passage down to *solute* is printed as it stands in the manuscript, but the original copyist evidently made a mistake. The proper reading would be 'quod ille mihi, vt estimo, sunt soluende': this is, at any rate, the reading which comes nearest to the words in their present form.

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sunt solute. Volo vero eosdem abbatem et conuentum per et propter casus fortuitos incendij cuiuscumque et qualitercumque prouenientes, et furti latronum et rapine, siue fraude et culpa abbatis et conuentus eorundem seu alicuius persone singularis eorum si euenerint, a restitucione dictorum bonorum, et vt legatis huiusmodi non careant propter non liberacionem, fore totaliter excusatos: aliam eciam partem dicti debiti sui in quo mihi tenentur remittere valeant eis dicti executores, prout pro anima mea viderint expedire, quia reuera eis nichil vel modicum deseruiui. Set volo sentire quod si indentura super bonis depositis non sufficiat ad recuperacionem nec illam timeant, ad restitucionem eciam illorum cogantur per obligacionem, et sic pensio et roba huiusmodi ab eis, si male fidei fuerint, exigantur.

*Oseneye.* Item lego fratri Thome, abbati, et conuentui monasterij Oseneye ad vsus communes necessarios ipsius, xx marcas conuertendas iuxta discrecionem abbatis, et abbati eiusdem monasterij xls, et cuilibet canonico ipsius monasterij vnam marcam, et priori, fratri videlicet Roberto, ij marcas, et Ricardo de Comenore xxs, et Henrico de Elsham xls, et fratri Willelmo de Westone, canonico ipsius monasterij, dimidiam marcam; qui Ricardus, Henricus et Willelmus in dicto legato generali, quo singulis vnam marcam reliqui, debeant comprehendi. Item lego familie eorundem abbatis et conuentus xls. distribuendos iuxta discrecionem abbatis. Hec legata abbati et conuentui de Osney, singulis personis et canonicis ac familiaribus suis iam relicta, et quecumque alia eis facta, per me volo dumtaxat solui eis, et alias non nec alicui eorum, si videlicet et dummodo abbas et conuentus ipsi fideliter custodierint et plene ac fideliter liberauerint pecuniam, libros, ciphos argenteos et alia bona mea penes eos deposita, sicut saltem patet in genere in indentura sigillo suo communi signata, et secundum quod ea fideliter specifico[1] in memoriali siue inuentario in hac parte per me facto et in presenti testamento infixo et incluso, et secundum exigenciam dicte indenture in qua bona huiusmodi non specificantur, set ciste et coffre sigillantur sigillo meo et serantur cum clauibus quas habeo. Item lego eisdem abbati et conuentui liberacionem xx li. quas mihi debent ex causa mutui et cuiusdam annue pensionis xls. que pro iiij vel iij annis est a retro, et omnium que michi debent ex mutuo vel ex causa dicte pensionis sub condicione predicta, et non aliter neque vltra, et vt inter ceteros benefactores domus sue me irrotulent in martilogio et me ascribant, et imperpetuum pro me vt pro talibus orent.

*Mertone halle.* [Fo. 158 d] Item lego custodi et scolaribus de Mertonhalle in vsus communes alios quam ad victum, v marcas.

*Criditone.* Item ad fabricam vel reparacionem ecclesie collegiate sancte Crucis Criditonie, xls.

*Exoniensi monasterio.* Item ad vsus similes, vel saltem ad vnam fenestriam[2] vitream in ecclesia seu claustro ecclesie Exoniensis in memoriam meam faciendam, v marcas.

*Lincolniensi monasterio.* Item ad fabricam seu reparacionem ecclesie Lincolniensis, cs. Item ad vsus similes ecclesie collegiate sancti Thome martiris Glasneye in Cornubia, xls. Item ad vsum magis vtilem ecclesie collegiate sancte Marie de Otery in Deuonia, xls.

*Glasneye.*

*Otery.*

[1] Written *specifice*.

[2] Sic.

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*Remissio pensionum.* Item lego omnibus et singulis religiosis et aliis qui[1] michi tenentur in aliquibus pensionibus liberacionem omnium arreragiorum et reliquorum que michi debent ex causa huiusmodi pensionum, exceptis abbatibus et conventibus monasteriorum de Oseneye et de Forde predictorum, de quibus specialiter in hac parte supra disposui nominatim; quos non volo propter condiciones[2] in legatis eis relictis per me appositas in presenti legato generali comprehendi, set volo quod ille condiciones omnino stent et in sui vigore remaneant et subsistant.

*Alicia Marchaunt.* Item lego Alicie Marchaunt vxori Roberti Marchaunt in Deuonia, sorori mee vterine, si me superuixerit, xls. sterlingorum et xij coclearia argentea.

*Almarico fit[3] Waryn.* Item lego Almarico fitz Waryn, fratri meo vterino, sub condicione si numquam tempore vite sue stet in aliqua iurata, nec iuret coram justiciariis regiis vel aliis secularibus personis, nec sit aliquis de xij iuratis, nec vnquam aliquem inducet,[4] set dimissis et derelictis talibus baratariis, de quibus est multum suspectus, ne aliter loquar, sicut christianus et fidelis Deo deseruiat, et de preteritis digne peniteat, et de istis sufficientem securitatem reperiat executoribus meis, xx marcas sterlingorum et xij coclearia argentea. Alias si de implecione condicionis huiusmodi sufficientem non fecerit securitatem, de qua est valde cauendum ne terre sue sint vtpote Thome de Missendene vel alij per statutum mercatorum vel alias ligate, onerate et affecte, huiusmodi legato ex toto careat et omnino.

*[Isa]belle Piparde.* Item lego Isabelle filie quondam Margarete Pipard, que Isabella nata fuit in ciuitate Exonie et iam moratur cum prefata Alicia sorore mea, ad maritandum eam, xl li. sterlingorum. Et est aduertendum quod quicumque cum ea matrimonium contraxerit et dictam pecuniam pro oneribus ferendi[5] matrimonij huiusmodi recipere voluerit, securitatem reperiat quod non precontraxerat cum aliqua alia, nec precognouerat aliquam dicte Isabelle consanguineam, et quod nullum ex parte ipsius mariti futuri impedimentum subfuit vel subest, propter quod matrimonium inter eum et Isabellam eandem subsistere non valeret, et quod eam eciam maritali affeccione pertractabat,[6] et quod simpliciter per statutum mercatorum vel obligacionem de compoto super duplo quasi ex mutuo recepto vel ad mercandizandum sibi tradito se obliget solempniter executoribus meis, recepta ab eis defesancia; quod si premissa existant et ipse obligans ea obseruet, nulla sit huiusmodi obligacio, set vacua et inanis. Alioquin si huiusmodi matrimonium propter precontraccionem cum alia vel impedimentum aliud ex parte viri eueniens vel contingens aut subsistens resoluatur et non procedat, vel si maritus ipse per maliciam suam ipsam Isabellam male pertractauerit contra effeccionem[7] et vinculum federis coniugalis, ipsa obligacio in pleno suo remaneat robore et vigore. Et si ipsa Isabella propter fornicacionem quam commisit uel committit antequam in vxorem ducatur nullum uirum ualentem habere

[1] Written *que*.
[2] *omnino stent* expunged.
[3] Sic.
[4] Sic. for *inducat*.
[5] Sic: *ferendis* is evidently meant.
[6] Sic: for *pertractabit*.
[7] Sic: for *effectum* or possibly for *affeccionem*.

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possit, uel si ab aliqua abiecta et modica persona, c solidos in bonis propriis non habente, in vxorem ducta fuerit, xl marcas de toto huiusmodi legato sibi relicto eoipso perdat. Si autem, pro eo quod meretrix esse elegerit et fuerit, in vxorem duci non voluerit nec valuerit, xl habeat tantum solidos de legato huiusmodi sterlingorum. In quos euentus quicquid ad vsum ipsius Isabelle in hac parte solutum de xl li. huiusmodi non fuerit in vsus maritagiorum honestarum mulierum, et presertim ac maxime de meo sanguine, conuertatur.

*Filio Alicie*[1] *Bozoun.* [Fo. 159.] Item lego Roberto Bozoun filio quondam Alicie Bozoun quondam[2] sororis mee[3] iuxta Dertmuthiam in Devonia, scolari, x li. ad iuuandum eum ad expensas suas in studio litterarum.

*Louecok.* Item lego fratri suo minori cs. Item lego filio quondam Thomesie Louecok, vxoris Johannis Louecok de Oxonia, scolari,[4] ad iuuandum eum in expensis suis ad studendum, x li.

*Filio Ricardi de la Lee.* Item lego partui qui est ad presens in ventre Alicie, vxoris Ricardi de la Lee de parochia de Swalclif, si nascatur masculus et vocetur post me Willelmus, xls.

*Willelmo Steanly.* Item lego Willelmo de Stanley et Agneti vxori sue de Stamfordia, lxs. sterlingorum, et lectum quendam, videlicet vnum couerlet cum testere qui deponitur apud eos nigrum blodium, qui est minoris valoris quam aliquis de duobus aliis lectis consimiliter depositis penes ipsum Willelmum. Item Willelmo filio eorundem, xls. et vnum librum decretalium apparitatum, et sextum librum decretalium cum glosa cardinalis in vno volumine, et Innocencium antiquum correctum, in quo in principio ipsius libri scripsi manu mea et feci de voluntate mea in hac parte mencionem. Hec autem legata Willelmo patri et eius vxori ac Willelmo eorum filio sic relicta dari et prestari volo sub condicione si ipse Willelmus pater et Agnes fideliter custodierint bona mea penes ipsum Willelmum deposita, et plene ac fideliter liberauerint executoribus meis secundum exigenciam indenture inter ipsum Willelmum et me de bonis huiusmodi facte, cuius altera pars sigillo ipsius Willelmi sigillata penes me remanet, et secundum quod bona huiusmodi quasi in totum specifico in memoriali siue inuentario supradicto.

*[Pro] cantariis perpetuis fundandis.* Item lego pro duabus cantariis perpetuis habendis, faciendis et fundandis pro animabus mea et parentum et benefactorum meorum et illorum quorum sum debitor et quorum bona iuste vel iniuste recepi, cc marcas sterlingorum; et si aliter cito vel commode fieri non possit, in domibus religiosis possessionatis cantarie huiusmodi habeantur. Et vellem quod vna in monasterio Osneye, et altera in monasterio Lancestonie predictis haberentur. Et si non possint ibi haberi, alibi, vt in monasteriis de Nottele, Torre, seu vbi executores mei magis securum et vtile viderint, procurent et faciant eas fieri et firmari. Et si pro tanta summa non possint haberi, plus addatur de bonis meis, quatenus sufficere poterunt non legatis.

[1] Written *Aic'*.

[2] *uxoris* expunged.

[3] Written *me*.

[4] The sense may be *de Oxonia scolari*, referring to young Lovecok, but the order of the words justifies the punctuation adopted above.

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*Reparacio pon[cium] et viarum.* Item lego ad reparacionem poncium et viarum ac itinerum in locis ubi magis meritorium fuerit, x marcas.

*Lanceston.* Item lego cuilibet canonico monasterij Lancestonie dimidiam marcam, et domino Dauid at Hole canonico vltra porcionem eum inde contingentem vnam aliam

*Rogero.* dimidiam marcam. Item lego domino Rogero de Dorset, diacono, ipsius Dauid consanguineo, portiforium meum seu manuale quod est in coffra siue cista maiori apud Forde. Item lego

*Lanceston.* priori monasterij Lancestonie quendam ciphum argenteum qui fuit quondam patris mei, qui est Stamfordie penes dominum[1] Willelmum de Steanley, in cuius ciphi fundo exterius sculpitur tantum vnum scutum siue scochoune patris mei, vna cum cooperculo quod ego feci fieri cipho huiusmodi correspondenti, remansurum imperpetuum in prioratu Lancestonie penes priorem qui ibidem fuerit pro tempore, ita quod extra prioratum non accomodetur nec impignoretur[2] nec alienetur, nisi maior et ineuitabilis et indissimilata vtilitas vel necessitas alienacionem ipsius fieri suaderet, cogeret et vrgeret. Item lego domino meo abbati

*Enesham.* monasterij de Enesham[3] ciphum illum argenteum deauratum et deamelatum cum pede suo per me fracto et cum cooperculo de eadem secta, et lauatorium de eadem secta de dono eiusdem domini abbatis, ita quod remaneat ipsi monasterio imperpetuum, et non alienetur nec impignoretur,[4] vt supra de alio cipho argenteo premisi, nisi maior necessitas quam[5] fieri exposceret, requireret et artaret.

*De anulis.* Item lego meliorem anulum meum domino meo Exoniensi et secundo meliorem domino meo Lincolniensi et tercio meliorem domino meo Wigorniensi episcopis, et executoribus meis tres alios anulos.

*Dore.* Item lego monasterio de Dora vnum nouche [qui][6] est cum anulis in dicta magna coffra stante in dormitorio Oseneye.

*Ricardo Cleangre.* Item lego magistro Ricardo Cleangre zonam meam sericam harshiatam cum argento in quo aues sculpuntur in tota zona, que est Staunfordie.

*Lanteny.* Item bibliam pulcram quam[7] habui ex acomodato prioris de Lanteny[8] prope Gloucestriam, et alios libros quos in eorum principio scripsi seu intitulaui ipsius monasterij fore, eidem post mortem meam volo et rogo restitui indilate.

*Enesham.* Item decretales quos olim impingnorauit mihi frater Nicholaus de Vpton, tunc abbas monasterij de Enesham,

[1] Probably for *dictum*.

[2] Written *impugnoretur*.

[3] *Enesham* below is certainly Eynsham, as Nicholas Upton, elected abbot 1338, deprived 1344, and abbot again c. 1349–54, belonged to that monastery. Geoffrey Lamburn was abbot at the time when the will was made (*Monasticon* iii, 2). But the word in this case may be *Euesham*, e. Evesham, locally in the diocese of Worcester, though exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction. The abbot of Evesham at this time was William Boyce, 1345–67 (ibid. ii, 6).

[4] Written *impugnoretur*.

[5] Sic.

[6] Omitted in original.

[7] Written *quemq*[u] : possibly a careless error for *quam quondam*.

[8] Sic.

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eodem modo restitui volo et idem fiat amore[1] statim de libris aliorum,
*Torre.* vt de summa Azonis que est monasterij de Torre, ij libros[2]
*Teukesbury.* sermonum qui sunt monasterij de Teukesbury, ij libros[3]
*Forde.* sermonum qui sunt monasterij de Forde, de epistolis Petri Blesensis que sunt domini episcopi Exoniensis, et sic de ceteris. Tales tamen pansi sunt aliorum nisi sicut signantur et explicaui in memoriali siue inuentario predicto per me scripto et facto, vno et alio scripto in papiro per notarium meum predictum et per me digesto et approbato et facto,
*Rogerus Otery.* vt textus Inforciati et vnus alius liber minimi precij qui fuit magistri Rogeri de Otery, qui stat cum domino meo Wygorniensi.

*Filiis Johannis Denys.* [Fo. 159 d.] Item lego tribus filiis Johannis Deneys de Gydecote, inter quos heredem ipsius non volo numerari nec eciam comprehendi, xij marcas sterlingorum, videlicet cuilibet eorum iiij marcas, et vni de filiabus suis non maritate in subsidium maritagij sui, cs. sterlingorum, quos cs. veto in alium vsum applicari.

*Johanne Lynham et filiabus eius.* Item lego Johanne Lynham quondam sorori patris mei, si ipsa me superuixerit, xls. et vj coclearia argentea, et Johanni filio suo, xls, et Thomasye filie sue in subsidium maritagij sui, x li. et Margarete filie sue in vsum similem, cs.

*Walterus Asche et ceteri seruientes W. de Doune.*[4] Item lego Waltero Asche, domicello et notario meo, v marcas, Simoni de Bulkyngtone seruienti meo, v marcas, et Waltero Achym seruienti meo, xls, si michi vsque ad mortem meam fideliter seruierint et in meo seruicio remanserint, et ad uel in mortem meam non conspicauerint[5] nec eam procurauerint: alioquin illo[6] et quiscumque qui secus fecerit vel de seruicio meo recesserit huiusmodi legato sibi relicto careat penitus et ex toto. Item lego W. filio dicti Simonis xxs.

*Johanni Oldstowe.* Item lego domino Johanni de Oldestow, rectori ecclesie sancte Mabene in Cornubia, xls.

*Roberto Mustarde.* Item Roberto Mustarde de Lancestonia, si me superuixerit, xxs.

*Ricardo Norys.* Item magistro Ricardo Norys canonico Exoniensi, si me superuixerit, xls; et sibi restitui volo antiqua sua[7] reportoria[8] in ij magnis quaternis in coffra mea stante in dormitorio meo[9] Oseneye.

*Joh. Sharesulle.* Item lego magistro Johanni de Shareshulle, precentori ecclesie Exoniensis, si me superuixerit, xls.

*Thome Doune.* Item Thome de Doune, filio Johanne atte Pitte, fratri meo consanguineo se[10] ex parte patris mei, cs.

*[Be]nedictus Pastone.* Item magistro Benedicto Pastone, xls. Item domino
*[Ra]dulphus rector sancti Probi.* Radulpho consanguineo meo, porcionario in ecclesia sancti Probi in Cornubia, xls. Item magistro Johanni Derworthe,
*[D]erworthe.* xls. et v coclearia argentea.

[1] Sic: *amore Dei* may be meant; but it seems more likely that *amore* was written instead of *amodo*.
[2] Sic.
[3] Sic.
[4] This marginal note makes the identity of the testator certain.
[5] Sic: for *conspirauerint*.
[6] Sic: for *illi* or *ille*.
[7] Written *suo*.
[8] Sic: for *repertoria*.
[9] Sic: for *mon'* (i.e. *monasterii*).
[10] Sic: *gerenti* probably omitted.

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*Doune.* Item Thome de Doune, filio quondam[1] et nunc heredi quondam patris mei, sex marcas sterlingorum et quatuor coclearia argentea, et meliorem lectum meum cum rosis croceis.

*Waryn.* Item Thome Waryn, filio quondam Johanne sororis mee, v marcas et lectum, videlicet couerlet cum testerio de eadem[2] secta, et ij whytels et ij debilia lintheamina; que omnia excepta pecunia huiusmodi sibi legata sunt apud Swalclyue.

*Alexandro Sporman. [Wa]ltero Bokelond. [M]ussendene.* Item lego domino Alexandro Sporman, presbitero cantarie sancte Anne in ecclesia omnium Sanctorum Oxonie, xs. et domino Waltero de Bokelonde canonico ad presens monasterij de Mussendene, xxxs. Et ipsi monasterio ad fabricam vel reparacionem ecclesie sue[3] eiusdem monasterij et domorum suarum necessariarum, xls.

*[Fratr]ibus mendicantibus.* Item lego ad distribuendum inter fratres mendicantes, videlicet, pro vestibus et habitibus senium fratrum et debilium et abiectorum et minoris reputacionis inter eos, honestorum tamen et deuotorum, vbicumque in Anglia tales magis reperti fierant[4] indigentes, x marcas. Item pro reparacione et coopertura *[Ips]orum ecclesiis.* ecclesiarum et domorum necessariarum talium fratrum magis indigencium, vbicumque verisimilis[5] tales fuerint[6] in Anglia, x marcas.

*[Vica]rio de Meltone [Mo]ubray.* Item lego robam meam furratam cum pelura, habentem supertunicam clausam, tabardum et duo capicia furrata, atque garnagium furratum de liberata dicti domini Wygorniensis, domino Roberto vicario ecclesie de Meltone Moubray, si me superuixerit; et eciam sibi lego[7] liberacionem omnium que mihi debet per quandam litteram obligatoriam, seu alias qualitercumque sinodalibus[8] et denariis sancti Petri. Si vero idem Robertus me[9] premoriatur, tunc lego tunicam, supertunicam et vnum capicium furratum domino Philippo, nuper capellano de Worthorpe iuxta Stamfordiam,[10] qui per prius fuit capellanus de Tynewelle, si me superuixerit: alias alicui seni et debili et non valenti se iuuare honesto capellano; colobium vero, garnagium et alterum capicium [Fo. 160] furrata dicte robe lego alicui alteri pauperi presbitero honesto et impotenti, vel non valenti propter debilitatem, infirmitatem vel senectutem celebrare vel se iuuare.

[1] Sic: should have been expunged.
[2] Written *easdem*.
[3] Sic.
[4] Sic: for *fuerint*.
[5] Sic: for *de verisimili* or *verisimiliter*.
[6] Written *fuerant*.
[7] The words 'vnam tunicam, supertunicam et capicium furratum domino Philippo, nuper capellano de Worthorpe,' taken from below, are added here in the original copy, with *vacat* interlined in the usual way.
[8] *Pro sinodalibus* is needed.
[9] Written *ne*.
[10] Wothorpe in the parish of St. Martin, Stamford. There was a small nunnery here which came to an end after the pestilence of 1349, and was united to the priory of St. Michael by Stamford, also on the Northants side of the Welland. Tinwell is in Rutland, west of Stamford. It is impossible to identify sir Philip, a *capellanus conductivus* of a type which was common in most English parishes, with certainty. The chaplain who served the chapel of Epwell in Swalcliffe parish, mentioned below, is a similar case.

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*Pro vicario Stanfordie.* Item lego vnum garnagium de blodeo furratum cum capicio non furrato de eadem secta domino Johanni vicario omnium Sanctorum Staunfordie. Item lego Simoni de *S. Bulkyntone.* Bulkyngtone predicto, sub condicione sub qua sibi superius legaui, vnum garnagium furratum cum capicio et curto tabardo furratis de eadem secta que sunt apud Staunfordiam.

*Eppewelle.* Item lego capucium linitum eciam de eadem secta, quod est ibidem eciam, et tunicam et supertunicam furratas et capucium furratum de illa secta que sunt apud Swalclyue domino Johanni, capellano[1] de Eppewelle, si ibi michi et pro me seruierit anno futuro[2]: alioquin illi capellano qui ibi deseruiet.

*Capellano Oseneye.* Item lego vnam robam furratam cum griseo et curto tabardo et capucio furrato domino Willelmo, capellano celebranti infra abbaciam Oseneye, vel alteri deuoto pauperi et impotenti capellano sub eleccione abbatis ibidem.

Item lego quamdam cotam longam furratam cum gryseo, que est penes magistrum Ricardum de Medmenham, alicui valde pauperi et honesto ac impotenti capellano iuxta arbitrium et conscienciam eiusdem Ricardi.

*Vicario Staunfordie.* Et cotam furratam ac capucium eciam furratum cum griseo que sunt Staunfordie, lego vicario ecclesie sancti Andree Staunfordie, qui dudum fuit capellanus celebrans, vt estimo, in prioratu sancti Michaelis prope Staunfordiam,[3] qui est aliqualiter antiquus.[4]

*Waltero Achym Thome Waryn.* Item lego quamdam cotam furratam per se cum pellibus leporinis ybernicis Waltero Achym, et capucium linitum et longam clocam de secta ipsius cote lego Thome Waryn.

*Vicario Lafforde.* Item vicario ecclesie prebendalis de Lafforde alias dicte de Sleforde, tres solidos sterlingorum.

*Snarte[for][de].* Item lego vnum garnagium rubeum furratum et capucium non furratum de eadem secta predicto Ade de Snarteforde, sub condicione sub qua sibi superius legaui.[5]

*Emma*[6] *Skilyngtone.* Item vnum antiquum couerlite sine testerio quod est Staunfordie Emmote de Skilyngtone, pauperi mulieri de Staunfordia, et vnum pannum modicum grossum de russeto qui est eciam ibi filio eiusdem.

*Isabelle P[iparde].* Item lego quamdam robam quasi nouam, furratam cum pelura, cum longo tabardo et capucio vnico furrato de liberata modo et pro nunc vltima[7] domini Lincolniensis, que sunt apud Staunfordiam, et j remenaunt quantitatis ij vlnarum de nouo panno eiusdem secte qui est apud Swalclyue; item vnam robam cum tunica, supertunica, colobio curto et vno capucio furrato cum pelura bona,

[1] The words 'qui ibi deseruiet. Item lego vnam robam furratam cum griseo,' taken from below, are added here in the original copy, with *vacat* interlined as before.

[2] This clause seems to show that Doune was in no immediate expectation of death when the will was made. The chaplain, as usual in such cases, was appointed and removed at the will of the rector.

[3] See note 10 on p. 276 above.

[4] Written *antiqus*.

[5] This refers to a legacy in the earlier part of the will which has disappeared.

[6] Sic.

[7] This phrase corroborates the statement as to the regular payment of a *liberata* in clothing by the bishop of Lincoln made in note 2, p. 255 above.

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et vnam longam clocam de secta ipsius robe furratam cum griseo, que sunt Staunfordie; ac eciam maiorem lectum meum rubeum cum toto suo apparatu, si per ribaldos plures vel vnum cognita hactenus vel donec in vxorem ducta fuerit per aliquem competentis status virum cognita et violata non fuerit, lego dicte Isabelle, que moratur cum dicta Alicia sorore mea. Si autem sic cognita fuerit, tunc sibi adimo totum hoc legatum et relinquo aliis mulieribus honestis non maritatis de sanguine meo non corruptis in subsidium maritagiorum suorum, videlicet, vni earum vnam robam et alteri alteram cum suis parcellis[1] et tercie[2] dictum lectum. Si autem tales reperte non fuerint, tunc panni et lectus huiusmodi vendantur in[3] pecunia ex eis redigenda in sustentacionem et vesturam pauperum applicetur.

*Alicie Marchaunt.* Item lego vnam robam linitam cum sindone rubeo cum ij cápuciis, vno linito et alio non linito, que est apud Staunfordiam, dicte Alicie sorori mee.

*Waltero Achym.* Item lego vnum remenaunt de albo panno qui est Staunfordie non taliatum Waltero, notario et domicello meo, et j whitel et j par lintheaminum nouorum.

Item lego mantellum meum rubeum de Hibernia alicui seni vel pauperi notabiliter de villa Staunfordie.

Item lego j whitel dicto Ade et aliud whitel dicto Waltero Achym, et vtrique eorum par lintheaminum sub condicione [Fo. 160 d] quam supraposui in legato per me seruientibus meis relicto.

*De panno lineo pro pauperibus.* Item lego xxx vlnas panni linei qui est Staunfordie et lx vlnas et tres et j quarteriam noui caneuacij de came[4] et totum nouum pannum de caneuacio qui est Staunfordie ad diuidendum inter euidenter pauperes, debiles et impotentes, videlicet impotencioribus, ad faciendum eis vnum paruum saltem lintheamen et camisiam et braccas, et aliis iuxta modum indigencie eorundem. Et eodem modo lego distribuendos inter pauperes et eciam impotentes omnes pannos meos lineos pro corpore meo, et omnia lintheamina superius non legata.

*Roberto Saundres.* Item lego Roberto Saundres balliuo meo apud Swalclyue robam illam meam rubeam furratam cum pelura, longo tabardo cum capucio furato, que est penes magistrum Ricardum Medmenham, et xls. in pecunia vel in aliis speciebus seu bladis bonorum meorum, si fideliter se habuerit et responderit executoribus meis et de bonis meis custodie et administracioni sue commissis: alioquin omni careat legato, et fiat sibi rigor omnis ita quod iusticiam[5] rigoris asperitas non excedat.

*Pauperes de Queynton.* In distribucione vero facienda inter pauperes in dictis pannis lineo et de caneuacio parochiani ecclesie predicte de Queyntone ceteris preferantur; ita videlicet quod a toto principio distribucionis huiusmodi aliqua notabilis quantitas inibi parciatur.

*Abbati Oseneye.* Item lego mappam meam meliorem cum tuella sibi correspondenti abbati monasterij Oseneye, sub condicione in legatis sibi et confratribus suis per me factis apposita et adiecta.

[1] Written *pc̃lis*: possibly an error for *pertinenciis*.

[2] Written *tercio*.

[3] Sic: *et* is needed instead.

[4] *Came* appears to be a place, but its identity is not clear.

[5] Written *iusticia*. The copyist probably meant *iusticie rigorem*, but muddled his words and cases.

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*Roba distribuenda pauperi rectori vel capellano archidiaconatus Leycestrie.*

Item lego robam meam blodeam furratam cum griseo, videlicet tunicam, supertunicam, curtum tabardum et capucium furratum alicui seni pauperiori rectori seu capellano[1] et indigenciori archidiaconatus Leycestrie, ita quod paupertas et indigencia a casu et non culpa sua, videlicet si propter hoc quod concubinarius et fornicator fuerit, vel tabernarius aut gulosus pauper extiterit, nichil percipiat, processerint et procedant. Et hanc determinacionem, modificacionem et restriccionem[2] facio et pro factis haberi volo in omnibus et singulis legatis pauperibus et indigentibus superius vel inferius relictis et eciam relinquendis.

*Cloca et Capucium [di]stribuenda modo predicto.*

Item lego clocam furratam cum griseo de eadem et capucium linitum de eadem secta alicui pauperi vicario eiusdem archidiaconatus.

*Johanna Lynham.*

Item lego robam meam bonam bene furratam cum bona pelura, habentem longum tabardum furratum, supertunicam clausam et capucium vnum furratum et aliud linitum de eadem secta dicte Johanne de Lynham, si me superuixerit: alioquin inter filias suis non maritatas pro rata diuidendam.

*Alicie Marchaunt.*

Item lego robam meam linitam cum cyndone blodeo, cum longo tabardo et vno capucio linito et alio non linito, prefate Alicie Marchaunt sorori mee.

*Alexandro Sporman.*

Item lego domino Alexandro Sporman predicto nouam robam blodeam furratam cum pelura, cum curto tabardo et vno capucio furrato et alio non furrato, et clocam longam. furratam cum medio vario de eadem secta, si soluerit pellipario Nicholao Gerlande seu Henrico famulo suo quinquaginta solidos vel saltem tantum quantum petitur pro furrura ipsius[3] cloce et pro furneatura ipsius robe, de quo petito et existente a retro feci eidem Henrico memoriale sub manu mea quod habet.

*[Ro]ba reliqua alicui studenti in [theol]ogia.*

Item lego alteram robam furratam cum pelura, habentem longum tabardum et vnum capucium furratum et aliud linitum de eadem secta, que[4] est penes eundem[5] Alexandrum, alicui deuoto presbitero non promoto studenti Oxonie in theologia, eciam si fuerit in aliqua aula perpetua ibidem et eciam si fuerit bacallarius in theologia.

*Roba [de secta] eadem [l]egata. [Thome] Waryn.*[6]

Item lego robam meam linitam cum cyndone viridi cum garnagio in omnibus suis garnamentis alicui pauperi magistro[7] vel bakallario in theologia non promoto Oxonie. Item lego longam clocam meam linitam cum panno et capucium eiusdem secte eodem modo et eodem panno linitum que sunt apud Swalclyue Thome Waryn predicto.

*Vicario de Swalclyue.*

[Fo. 161.] Item robam meam linitam cum cyndone rubeo que est ibidem domino Henrico vicario meo ibidem.

*Filio Thomasie.*

Item lego pannum nouum pro vna roba non cissum de liberata abbatis Oseneye dicto scolari filio quondam sororis mee Thomasie.

[1] Written *capellani*.
[2] Written *restruccionem*.
[3] *ipsius* written a second time by mistake.
[4] Written *ques*.
[5] Written *eandem*.
[6] This marginal reference cannot be recovered exactly.
[7] Written *magistri*.

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*Aquebaiulo de Swalclyue.* Item clerico pauperi aquebaiulo[1] de Swalclyue vnum album corsetum qui est apud Swalclyue, et quinque solidos sterlingorum ad orandum pro me. Item lego pannum nouum pro roba michi facienda non cissum de liberata de Torre qui est apud Swalclyue predicto Bozone quondam filio sororis mee. *Roberto Bozone.*

Omnes vero legatarios predictos et infrascriptos onero et rogo vt pro me orent.

*Johanni Mannyng.* Item cotam meam de skarleto cum capucio eiusdem secte Johanni Mannyng.

*Rectori de Swalclyue.* Item lego nouum dorserium meum cum tribus bankeriis eidem quasi fere corespondentibus futuro successori meo rectori de Swalclyue, sub condicione et modo quam et quem in legato xl marcarum ad reparandum domos rectorie et alias ac clausuras ipsius ecclesie superius expressaui.

*Pro fratre Roberti Bozone.* Item lego vnam cotam furratam cum nigra furrura et capucio linito de eadem secta, que sunt apud Swalclyue, dicto fratri prefati[2] Roberti Bozone, si ad scolas iuerit et scolaris fuerit vel esse voluerit: alioquin eidem Roberto.

*Kibbeworthe. Naylestone. Shakestone.* Item lego domino Egidio ad presens rectori ecclesie de Kibbeworthe, x marcas. Item magistro Petro rectori ecclesie de Naylestone, vj marcas. Et domino Alexandro, credo vocato rectori ecclesie[3] de Shakestone, xxs. sterlingorum. Et rogo eos et quoslibet alios archidiaconatus mei Leycestrie quod michi remittant ea que per me et meos ministros ab eis indebite recepi.

*de proclamacione facienda.* Et amore Dei infra mensem post mortem meam fiat precipue in archidiaconatu meo Leycestrie et ex tunc in tota diocesi Lincolniensi proclamacio generalis, quod quiscumque vllo tempore senserit se fuisse indebite oppressum per me vel grauatum, vel dicere potuerit et ostendere, saltem probabiliter, quod ab eo aliquid contra iusticiam et bonam conscienciam extorsi vel recepi, exceptis dumtaxat procuracionibus archidiaconalibus, quas in archidiaconatu predicto recepi aliquociens visitacionis officio non impenso, propter quod alia pietatis et elemosinarum obsequia in recompensacionem talem qualem ad presens possum facere superius in eodem archidiaconatu facienda ordinaui, si de extorsione et recepcione iniuriosis et illicitis huiusmodi ostendant[4] probabiles euidencias, et iuret id verum esse quod asserit in hac parte, super quarum euidenciarum et iuramenti valore vel non valore vel sufficiencia seu insufficiencia, attentis et consideratis qualitatibus personarum et quantitate summarum, stari volo arbitrio[5] et consciencie executorum meorum, pro eo quod ad presens in specie tale aliquid non occurrit, exceptis per ministros meos quibusdam receptis de vicario, vt dixerunt,[6] de Meltone Moubray, pro quibus sibi superius legaui ad valorem notabilem vltra ea, et quia forte contra bonum consciencie extorsi ab eodem vicario quamdam obligacionem x librarum, eam sibi superius remisi et remitto, et rogo quod ipse michi remittat, quia iam amare recogito quod valde male multi superiores versantur, immo grassantur, cum subditis, de quorum numero fui et sum

[1] The *aquebaiulus* is the 'water-carrier,' i.e. the clerk who carried holy water on Sundays in the parish church.
[2] Written *prefato.*
[3] *ecclesie* repeated by mistake.
[4] Sic: for *ostendat.*
[5] Written *abitrio.*
[6] Written *dixerint.*

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vnus, Deus mihi indulgeat pro sua ineffabili pietate, tunc executores mei restituant et resarciant[1] quatenus bonum et equum fuerit omnia et singula sic extorta illicite et recepta, quatenus bona mea in presenti testamento ad vsus ceteros seu personis certis vel incertis non legata possint sufficere in hac parte.

*Bozone de . . .* Item lego vsum seu vsufructum, saltem talem qualem[2] inferius describetur, librorum meorum corporis iuris ciuilis, videlicet parui voluminis digesti veteris, codicis, digesti noui et inforciati, necnon decretalium meorum et Innocencij et libri sexti decretalium cum tribus glosis, et Digno, ac Johanni[3] Andree in nouellis super titulo de regulis iuris in vno volumine, necnon Clementinarum cum quinque glosis et Johanniniarum[4] cum vna glosa in vno volumine, in quibus libris multa scripsi manu [Fo. 161 d] mea, Roberto Bozone predicto, quondam filio Alicie sororis mee, seu predicto scolari, quondam filio Thomasie alterius sororis mee, videlicet vni ipsorum qui apcior et morigeracior executorum meorum vel vnius eorum et abbatis monasterij Oseneye arbitrio infra quadriennium a tempore mortis mee repertus fuerit ad studendum in iure; ita quod illi qui electus fuerit in hac parte primo paruum volumen, et deinde libri alij iuris ciuilis, prout oportunum et vtile fuerit, successive, et post quinque annos postquam ille in iure ciuili studuerit, libri ceteri iuris, videlicet canonici, predicti tradantur eidem per proprietarios eorundem, si et dummodo sibi caucionem et securitatem possibiles faciat et repperiat, quod cum libris huiusmodi seu aliquo eorum pro vsu persone sue proprie vti efficaciter non voluerit vel non potuerit, vel in eis efficaciter non studuerit, eos et quemlibet eorum, quibus seu quo sic vti non voluerit vel non potuerit, vel in quibus seu quo efficaciter non studuerit, proprietariis eorundem restituet plene et integre infra mensem, et nichilominus quod, quandocumque ad etatem sexaginta annorum peruenerit, et alias, si tanto tempore non vixerit, ante mortem suam, si fuerit sibi possibile hoc, vel saltem infra mensem a tempore mortis sue, ipsos libros omnes et singulos, casibus fortuitis incendij, furti et rapine dumtaxat exceptis, plene restituet seu restitui faciet cum effectu, et preterea quod omnes libros dum apud ipsum fuerint custodiet et conseruabit saluos et non dilaceratos nec fractos, conculcatos nec deterioratos seu eciam deteriorandos, quatenus fuerit sibi possibile, et quod eos seu aliquem eorum non alienabit nec impignorabit, nec eciam extra manus suas acommodabit.

*Oseneye.* Proprietatem vero librorum ipsorum lego abbati et conuentui monasterij de Oseneye et ipsi monasterio predictis, si et ita, et modo ac forma infrascriptis, quod si videlicet neuter consanguineorum meorum predictorum habilis, aptus seu ydoneus ad studendum in iure repertus fuerit in hac parte infra tempus predictum, vel dictos libros non receperit, vel si ambo eorum decesserint infra dictum tempus, tunc et exnunc prout ex tunc et e conuerso tam legatum, vsus seu vsufructus quam eciam proprietatos[5] dictorum librorum huiusmodi adimo et reuoco penitus ac subduco; et ex tunc omnes libros, quos dicto abbati statim post mortem meam liberari volo, vendi volo per abbatem dicti monasterij qui tunc fuerit et pecuniam inde redigendam in pios vsus per manus ipsius abbatis in consciencia sua distribui et conuerti, ita quod ex ea cs. tantum

[1] Written *resarceant.*
[2] Sic: for *qualis.*
[3] Sic: for *Johannis.*
[4] Sic: for *Johanninarum*, i.e. the *Extravagantes* of John XXII.
[5] Sic: for *proprietates.*

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in vsus communes et vtiles sui monasterij valeat applicare. Finito vero vsu seu vsufructu dictorum librorum simul vel separatim in persona alterius consanguineorum meorum, in casu quo alteruter eorum ipsos recepit, vt est dictum, tunc libri predicti modo predicto alteri de sanguine meo quo ad vsum seu vsufructum similem tradantur et per proprietarios liberentur, modis et formis ac condicionibus, modificacionibus et qualitatibus supradictis. Et extunc finito vsuffructu seu vsu in persona ipsius qui ydoneus fuerit atque aptus, alteri tali de eodem sanguine et sic de ceteris de sanguine meo et parentum meorum ex vtroque latere vsque ad sex personas tantummodo inclusiue. Ex tunc vero finito vsu seu vsuffructu huiusmodi in sexta persona huiusmodi, vsuffructus huiusmodi formalis insimul cum proprietate consolidetur et expiret ex toto huiusmodi vsuffructus formalis, que proprietas sic cum vsufructu consolidata et cum suo, vt sic loquar, vsuffructu causali abbati et conuentui dicti monasterij Oseneye et ipsi monasterio remaneat imperpetuum in vsus proprios communes et vtiles conuertenda. Et nichilominus, ne huiusmodi proprietas dictorum librorum saltem interim dicto monasterio inutilis penitus videatur, caueat et securet quilibet qui vsum seu vsuffructum predictum receperit seu habebit eorum, saltem quo modo sibi possibile fuerit, quod finito vsu seu vsuffructu huiusmodi in persona sua, xl solidos sterlingorum dabit et per se vel alium soluet abbati ipsius monasterij qui fuerit pro tempore infra mensem, et quod consilium et [Fo. 162] auxilium suum dabit quoaduixerit et prestabit eidem monasterio vbicumque sibi proficere poterit seu valere.[1]

*Bozone.* Illi[2] preterea qui dictos libros recipiet et vsum seu vsufructum illorum habebit de dictis duobus filiis sororum mearum lego, vltra id quod superius legaui, vij li. ad expensas suas in studio, quas et eciam x libras sibi supra legatas post mortem meam solui volo abbati monasterij, et per manus suas quolibet anno de vij annis quibus in iure studuerit eidem xl solidos liberari, et sexaginta solidos prius.

*Ricardo Medmenham.* Item lego magistro Ricardo de Medmenham, rectori ecclesia de Vptone super Sabrinam, Wygorniensis diocesis, vsum seu vsufructum saltem modo qui sequitur libri mei Johannis Andree in nouellis super antiquis decretalibus, et cuiusdam magni libri et spissi valde continentis questiones multas et allegaciones aduocatorum in causis vertentibus in palacio apostolico, et multa summe vtilia pro factista et presertim in Romana curia. Item magnum quaternum, immo librum quem solebam mecum cariare scriptum in parte in percameno et in parte in papiro, in quo signaui et remisi per dicciones quasi per alphabetum, vbi reperientur dicta Innocencii et Archidiaconi in rosario et materie scripte in dicto libro spisso, et sepe remitto ad repeticiones meas proprias et lecturam meam scriptas in papiro, quas eciam sibi lego et eciam vsufructum cuiusdam libri continentis textum sexti libri. Item textum Clementinarum scriptum manu mea et constituciones prouinciales et legatorum et statuta curie de Arcubus et copias bullarum iudicialium et graciosarum,[3] inhibicionum, articulorum et multa vtilia pro factista, si et ita quod postquam idem Ricardus ipsis libris vti non potuerit[4] vel non voluerit pro persona sua propria, vel si eis vsus fuerit vsque ad mortem suam, tunc eos et quemlibet

[1] Written *valar'*.

[2] Written *Iilli*.

[3] The distinction is between bulls delegating commissaries to try disputed cases or involving definitive decisions of the curia in such cases, and bulls granted as graces or indults.

[4] Written *poterint*.

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eorum liberet abbati predicti monasterij de Osneye qui tunc fuerit; qui abbas ipsos libros vendat et pecuniam redigendam distribuat in pios vsus, et xxs. ex ea in vsus persone et xls. ex ea in vsus communes et necessarios monasterij sui tantum conuertere valeat et non vltra. Item lego eidem Ricardo zonam meam secundo meliorem harshiatam et vnam de mappis meis, videlicet tercio meliorem, cum tuella sibi corespondente, et vnum ciphum de ciphis meis de mesero,[1] videlicet secundo meliorem, et quem postquam magister Johannes de Beluero elegerit duxerit eligendum, et x li. sterlingorum vltra expensas racionabiles quas facturus est circa complecionem presentis testamenti, et sub condicione ista, videlicet si fideliter custodierit bona mea apud eum deposita et de eis responderit et ea restituerit, saluis et exceptis casibus fortuitis incendij, furti et rapine.

*Johanni Beluero.* Item lego magistro Johanni de Beluero, rectori ecclesie de Kyrkby Mallory, officiali meo, vsum seu vsufructum saltem talem qui sequitur libri mei Hostiensis in summa et Mandegodi mei quem bene correxi et in quo multa scripsi vtilia, et librum quemdam sermonum quem habui ex dono suo, et quemdam cultellum cum manubrio eburneo quem habui ex dono suo, et zonam meam meliorem de serico nigro harshiatam cum argento deaurato, et in medio barratam et pendentem amelatam, et ciphum meum de berillo et mappam meam secundo meliorem cum tuella sibi corespondente, et x marcas sterlingorum vltra omnes expensas racionabiles quas facturus est circa complecionem presentis testamenti et administracionem bonorum meorum. Et onero eum coram Deo quod, quatenus sciuerit et poterit, fidelitatem michi faciat in fructibus et prouentibus atque bonis receptis per eum de archidiaconatu meo vel racione ipsius archidiaconatus ad me pertinentibus et que deberent pertinere et michi debentur, sicut spero pro certo quod fecit et faciet satis fideliter atque grate, vsufructum seu vsum dictorum librorum sibi lego et ita quod, postquam eis non potuerit vel non voluerit vti pro persona sua propria, vel si eis vsus fuerit vsque ad mortem, tunc eos liberari faciat cum effectu abbati dicti monasterij de Osneye qui tunc erit, qui abbas eos vendat et pecuniam ex eis redigendam distribuat in pios vsus pro anima mea secundum conscienciam suam bonam, et [fo. 162 d] vnam marcam ex ea in vsum persone sue proprie tantummodo conuertere valeat et non vltra. Item libros meos alios omnes et singulos superius non legatos, exceptis illis quos statim legabo priori monasterij Oseneye et magistro Thome Pepir, videlicet quo ad vsufructum seu vsum personalem pro temporibus eorundem, videlicet decreta mea apparitata et bona, et vnum alium textum decretorum, archidiaconum Guidonem in rosario, bonum Hostiensem in lectura in duobus voluminibus, Speculatorem[2] et Johannem Andree in addicionibus siue suplecionibus super antiquis decretalibus, qui sunt omnes libri optimi et correcti, per executores meos vendi volo et pecuniam ex eis redigendam conuerti, si opus fuerit, ad complecionem presentis testamenti et maxime ad opus dictarum duarum cantariarum perpetuarum. Si vero bona mea aliunde sufficiant, sicut spero quod faciant, tunc pecunia huiusmodi que ex vendicione dictorum librorum redacta fuerit in pios et meritorios vsus iuxta executorum meorum arbitrium et in eorum consciencia celerius quo fieri poterit applicetur.

*Vendicio librorum.*

[1] i.e. one of his mazers.

[2] i.e. Guillaume Durand, author of *Speculum iuris*. See note 4, on p. 265 above.

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*Thome Pepir.* Predicto vero magistro Thome Pepir lego vsum seu vsufructum libri mei Johannis Andree in nouellis super vj^to^ libro decretalium, toto excepto titulo de regulis iuris, et lego eidem quemdam quaternum coopertum cum albo corio exterius continentem commissiones factas in curia Romana et litteras apostolicas et practicam et terminos in causis in Romana curia et posiciones et articulos et multa alia vtilia scripta quasi insolidum manu mea et in parte continentem membranam percameni in qua[1] scribuntur littere seu copie litterarum commissionum et alia episcoporum et quedam alia que recollegi tempore iuuentutis mee quando steti in obsequiis domini episcopi Exoniensis. Item lego eidem Thome pennarium meum argenteum cum cornu. Item legatum vsufructus seu vsus dicti[2] libri Johannis Andree sibi volo solui et prestari, si et dummodo postquam ipso libro vti non potuerit vel non voluerit pro persona sua propria, vel si eo vsus fuerit forte vsque ad mortem suam, tunc ipsum librum dicto abbati Osneye modis omnibus infra mensem,[3] qui abbas ipsum librum vendat et de pecunia ex eo reddenda faciat vt superius de libris aliis quorum vsufructum seu vsum legaui dictis magistris Ricardo et Johanni pro anima mea superius prelibaui. De et super implecione tamen condicionum et modorum in istis legatis vsufructuum seu vsuum librorum predictorum relictorum eisdem Ricardo, Johanni et Thome caucio, securitas aut obligacio quam[4] bona fides et consciencia eorundem minime exigatur.

*Medmenham.* Item lego repeticiones Clyni super digesto veteri magistro Ricardo Medmenham si inceperit in iure ciuili, et Petrum meum super inforciato: alioquin magistro Johanni de Beluero.[5]

*Johanni Derworthe.* Item lego[6] vsum seu vsufructum sic vt sequitur Clyni mei super codice magistro Johanni de[7] Derworthe vt quam diu idem Johannes studuerit in vniuersitate seu studio generali[8] vel dum in curia Romana fuerit, vel si et quamdiu aduocatus in curia Cantuariensi fuerit, vsum dum taxat habeat eius nudum, et si ac dummodo sufficienter caueat quod postquam desierit in loco tali studere vel in curia Romana non fuerit vel moram non traxerit ibidem, seu si et quando in curia Cantuariensi non fuerit aduocatus, ipsum librum liberabit abbati dicti monasterij Oseneye, qui abbas postquam receperit illum vendat et pecuniam exinde redigendam distribuat in vsus magis pios secundum conscienciam suam cicius quo poterit bono modo, et de pecunia huiusmodi retineat in vsum persone sue dimidiam marcam et non vltra.

Item lego fratri Roberto priori monasterij Osneye vsum[9] seu vsufructum omnium librorum meorum propriorum sermonum, aliquibus superius aliis legatis exceptis, et proprietatem eorum eidem monasterio.

*[De c]ipbis argenteis [con]flandis.* Item omnes et singulos ciphos meos argenteos per me superius non legatos et omnia alia vasa mea argentea frangi volo et conflari et ex eis calices fieri, quorum vnum lego et dari volo ecclesie predicte de Queyntone, alium ecclesie de Hamme et terciam ecclesie sancte Endeli [ente].

At this point the will ends, as the next leaf is missing.

[1] Written *quo*.
[2] Written *dicto*.
[3] Sic: *restituat* appears to be omitted.
[4] Sic: *nulla quam* is needed.
[5] *Derworthe vt quamdiu* expunged.
[6] Written *leogo*.
[7] V expunged.
[8] Written *generari*.
[9] *suum* expunged.

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## ST. SEBASTIAN AND MITHRAS: A SUGGESTION.

By ALICE KEMP-WELCH.

In the *Acta Sanctorum* of the seventeenth century we read the harrowing story of St. Sebastian's martyrdom; in the more critical *Analecta Bollandiana* of to-day we are told that the story 'bears the stamp of a work of imagination.' Yet even so, we believe, with Renan, that although 'la légende n'est pas vraie comme fait, elle est toujours vraie comme idée.' What is the idea behind this legend of terrible torture? Why do we find the legend associated with Rome of the third century? To reply that St. Sebastian was a christianised Apollo, the god of Light, whose arrows, shot amongst the Greeks, brought pestilence and death, leaves us still questioning, for although Apollo was, par excellence, the purifying and expiatory god, to whom a temple—that of Apollo Medicus, mentioned by Livy—was built in Rome as early as 433–431 B.C. in performance of a vow made during a plague, and although we know that St. Sebastian was invoked under similar circumstances, especially during the great cycle of epidemics in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that the familiar art-representations of him were inspired by those of Apollo, it would seem as if the details of the legend can only be explained, and the places specially associated with the saint accounted for, if we see in St. Sebastian not merely a christianised Apollo, but a christianised Apollo-Mithras, and, in his early cult as a Christian saint, the continuance of religious tradition in certain places once consecrated to Mithras.

Let us first recall the legend itself, and then, before examining it in order to see where it resembles and where

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it differs from others, and whether in the differences we can detect any Mithraic elements or reminiscences, let us consider very briefly how Mithraism spread throughout the Roman world in the second century A.D. and what was its position in Rome itself in the third and early fourth centuries. Scholars and students are well acquainted with the learned works on this subject, especially M. Cumont's *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mysteres de Mithra* (1896–1899). It is only necessary, therefore, to refer to such points as seem to throw light upon the question here under consideration.

According to the legend, St. Sebastian was born at Narbonne, in Gaul, whilst his parents were citizens of Milan, in which city he was brought up. Later, he went to Rome, and came under the notice of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, who, ignorant of his Christian piety, and highly esteeming him, made him an officer in the imperial guard. Secretly he urged the Christians to constancy in the faith, visiting those who were in prison in the house of Nicostratus, keeper of the records. There, whilst exhorting them to fight the good fight, he was suddenly illumined for about the space of an hour with an exceeding splendour coming down from heaven, and, whilst thus illumined, was clothed by seven most radiant angels with a pallium, dazzling white. Discovered and denounced to the emperor Diocletian, he was tied to a stake in the hippodrome on the Palatine hill, and shot with arrows until he was thought to be dead, but recovering a few days afterwards, he reproached the emperors with their treatment of the Christians, and, under their orders, was finally beaten to death with rods, his body being thrown into the Cloaca maxima. The following night he appeared in a dream to a saintly woman, told her where his body was to be found, and asked that it should be buried with the apostles on the Appian way, a request said to have been fulfilled. These events took place, according to tradition, about A.D. 287.

Mithraism, the cult of the Persian Mithras, god of light and air, and, as such, mediator between heaven and earth, god and man, spread to Rome and the Roman world, from Rome's outlying provinces in eastern Asia Minor, as early as the first century B.C. There the Greek

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and Persian worlds had met, and, though superficially indeed, since there could be nothing more than compromise between two such divergent peoples, they had intermingled. One of the results of this intermingling was that some of the gods were invested with a double title; hence the title Apollo-Mithras.

Towards the close of the second century of our era, that is, from the reign of Commodus, Mithraism assumed great importance in the empire, partly because of the encouragement given to sun-worship, under its various forms, by the emperors, who courted the support it gave to the idea of divine right, and partly because Mithraism was pre-eminently the creed of the soldier, and Rome largely recruited her legions and auxiliary forces from Cappadocia and Pontus, both Mithraic centres; and further because of the number of oriental slaves and traders who found their way to Rome. The track of the soldier and of the trader was the track of the god.

When Christianity was taking shape, there were various forms of worship in Rome more or less similar to, and overlapping, each other; their votaries even worshiping in adjacent sanctuaries. Mithraism, one of such forms, for a time rivalled nascent Christianity. Hence it was possible for a Christian legend to take its name from one of these cults, and some of its legendary lore from others, and to unite them all around a Christian ideal. The first Christian mention of St. Sebastian goes back to the *Depositio Martyrum* in the Philocalian calendar of the year 354, where his burial on the Appian way is thus recorded: 'Jan. 20th. Sebastian in the Catacombs.' In the fourth century Christianity and Mithraism were overlapping, Christianity consolidating, Mithraism disintegrating. An example of such overlapping may be recalled in the ridicule of a minor Latin poet of the late fourth century, who derides Nicomachus Flavianus for trying, after the death of Valentinian (A.D. 392), to revive the cults of the Magna Mater, Isis, and Mithra, saying that he 'goes in winter to look for the sun in some peasant's silo,' thus designating the underground Mithraea.

In the year 274 sun-worship was established with great pomp as the national religion by the emperor

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Aurelian, who, we may remember, was the son of a peasant of Pannonia, a province specially devoted to the Mithraic cult, though it would seem that Aurelian adopted the Syrian form of sun-worship, centred at Emesa.[1] In 284 Diocletian, a native of Illyria, where also Mithraism found many adherents, was proclaimed emperor. From the various forms of sun-worship prevailing he 'selected the Persian Mithraic system, because he was more oriental than western.'[2] Two years later he took as his colleague Maximian, also a Pannonian peasant, and the worship of Mithras became predominant, attaining almost to the dignity of an imperial religion. Many temples were dedicated to the god. Discoveries under the church of San Clemente seem to indicate that some portion of an early building, which perhaps formed part of the dwelling of St. Clement himself, was adapted for the exercise of the Mithraic mysteries. This predominance, however, was not to endure for long. With the accession of Constantine, and his celebrated victory under the banner of the Cross in 312, the triumph of Christianity was assured, though it was left for his nephew, the emperor Julian, to be the last of the imperial sun-worshipers. St. Basil, at the end of the fourth century, attests that the worship of the sun-god still persisted, and it was not until the middle of the fifth century that an almost complete silence enveloped this once powerful cult, though doubtless it still lingered on in outlying districts and the more unfrequented parts of the empire. It is easy to imagine how difficult it must have been to shake off so powerful a tradition, since even Christian art could not free itself from its dominance, but adopted and adapted its motives.

Near to the church of San Clemente, with its Mithraeum, is that of the 'Quattro Coronati,' which once possessed a silver and enamel reliquary,[3] said to contain the head of St. Sebastian. These 'Quattro Coronati,' in whose honour the church is dedicated, and who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, are associated with the

[1] A. L. Frothingham, *Diocletian and Mithra*, *Amer. Jour. of Arch.* 2nd ser. xviii (1914), no. 2.

[2] Frothingham, op. cit.

[3] Now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican: A. Muñoz, *Studi Romani*, anno I (1913), pp. 197–207.

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five martyr-sculptors of Pannonia, and indeed do not seem to be definitely distinguished from them[1]; legend assigns to them the same date as it does to St. Sebastian. Pannonia was an important Mithraic centre, and from its marble quarries votive offerings for Mithraic devotees everywhere were produced in large quantities. Thus here again we seem to find a link between St. Sebastian and the cult of Mithras.

The reliquary referred to was given to the church in the ninth century by pope Gregory IV (827–844), though there is another tradition that the head of St. Sebastian, in the seventh century, was given by pope Sergius I (687–701) to St. Willibrord, and that it is now kept at Echternach, in the duchy of Luxemburg.[2] This latter tradition is perhaps the earliest discoverable reference to a gift of relics of the saint. Thus far we find no power over plague ascribed to St. Sebastian or his relics, but Paulus Diaconus,[3] writing in the eighth century, records how, during the plague in Pavia in 680, relics of St. Sebastian (because of a dream) were asked for from Rome to stay the visitation, and how an altar was set up in the church of San Pietro-in-Vincoli, Pavia, for their reception, and how the plague was stayed. The mosaic over the altar of St. Sebastian in San Pietro-in-Vincoli, Rome, is said to have been dedicated in the same year, though now, at the suggestion of De' Rossi, the inscription is considered to be of the fifteenth century, and to be only a borrowing of the Pavia tradition. This latter conclusion is in part deduced from the fact that whilst the plague happened during the pontificate of pope Agathon (678–682), and is recorded in the authentic life of this pope, no mention is there made of the erection of the altar. We may notice that in this representation of St. Sebastian there is between his feet a disk marked with crossed bars, and De' Rossi has suggested that this may be a reminiscence of the disks given in the amphitheatre as prizes, and in remembrance of the hippodrome on the Palatine as the scene of the martyrdom. This idea can no longer be entertained if, as modern scholarship suggests, this so-called hippodrome, instead of being

[1] Delehaye, *Origines du culte des martyres* (1912), pp. 295 and 320.

[2] Butler, *Lives of the Saints.*

[3] *De Gestis Lombardorum*, lib. vi, c. 5.

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a place for chariot races and games, was in reality a sunk-garden, with statues and green alleys, vine-covered porticoes and fountains, and a spacious exedra on the east side commanding a view of the garden.[1] If, however, the relationship between St. Sebastian and Mithras is admitted, this disk suggests comparison with the small loaves represented in the Mithraic communion on the Konjica relief, thus appropriately symbolising the celestial food. In this connexion the disk marked with a cross, carved on the corner of a decorated triangular stone found at Vindolana,[2] may likewise be recalled, and the sphere, intersected by transverse bands, found in various Mithraic reliefs, may also be cited.

St. Sebastian, as a plague-saint, may be grouped with SS. Cosmo and Damian, eastern saints, physicians, and likewise stayers of plague and pestilence, whose legend was introduced into the West in the early centuries of Christianity. Their connexion with the Dioscuri, who are associated with Mithras, has been considered and rejected,[3] but even if we accept this conclusion, the association between these saints and St. Sebastian seems worth noting, since they also were stayers of plague, and share with him the torture of being shot at with arrows.[4]

We turn now to St. Sebastian and his legend, and first of all to his name. Father Delehaye[5] says that the names of many saints are mere transformations of topographical names, Sebastian, from Sebaste in Armenia Minor, bordering on Pontus and Cappadocia, among the number, though later[6] he suggests that this name may have been derived from *Sebastos*, the Greek name for Augustus, when the deus loci of some temple of Augustus was christianised.[7]

[1] Fr. Marx, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1895, 136; Jordan-Hülsen, *Top. der Stadt Rom.* (1907), I, iii, p. 94.

[2] Cumont, *Textes, etc.* ii, 434.

[3] W. Weyh, *Die syrische Kosmas und Damian Legende*, 1909–1910; also *Ana. Boll.* xxvii, 223; Deubner, *Berliner phil. Wochenschr.* 1910, no. 41.

[4] St. Edmund, king of East Anglia in the ninth century, said to have been shot to death with arrows by the Danes, and appearing in later art like a St. Sebastian, but crowned to mark his royal rank, does not come under consideration here, since he is of the middle ages, and an historical personage.

[5] Writing in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxv (1906), p. 94.

[6] xxxi (1911), pp. 343–344.

[7] For another suggestion, we would refer readers to an article by S. Minocchi, *Il martirio di San Sebastiano*, *Nuova Antologia*, 1st August, 1911, and to the notice of it by H. D. in the review columns of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxi (1911), pp. 343 and 344.

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Sebaste was an important city, and was made the capital of Armenia by Diocletian. It was a focus for Mithraic worship, and at the same time the home of many Christians, who naturally suffered persecution, and even martyrdom, in a land where the legions were largely recruited, and where those who would not join the army lest they should have to sacrifice to the false god were treated as deserters.

The fact that, according to the legend, St. Sebastian was born at Narbonne, though his parents were citizens of Milan, at once makes us pause. Why should the pious writer of the legend, whoever he was, have chosen Narbonne as the place of his birth? What do we know of its history to help us in any way to an answer? Narbonne was a flourishing oriental colony before the Romans (in 118 B.C.) there founded their first colony in Gaul. By the third century of our era it was an important centre of Mithraic rites, which, as inscriptions verify, spread thence through the Narbonnaise, and also into Spain, where there was an organised cult in the valleys of the Asturias and Galicia. Traces of the god's popularity, though rare in Spain, have also been found near San Juan, not far from Silos, in Old Castile. In this connexion it is interesting and suggestive to recall the famous chalice in the treasury of that abbey, on which is an inscription recording that the abbot Santo Domingo (1041–1073) dedicated it in honour of St. Sebastian, at that time patron of the abbey, 'In nomine Domini, in honorem Sancti Sebastiani Dominicus abbas fecit.'[1] The origin of the monastery seems to be quite obscure, since the earliest certain reference to it is in a charter of the year 919.[2] We would hazard the suggestion that this may at one time have been a Mithraic shrine, adapted later to Christian purposes. In Narbonne itself,[3] in a wall near the church of St. Sebastian, may be seen a mutilated bas-relief, representing a Mithraic torch-bearer.

Turning to Milan, the home of St. Sebastian and his parents, we remember that here, in the third century,

[1] According to the *Analecta Bollandiana*, it was not till the eleventh century that St. Sebastian appears as a patron saint.

[2] Père Houlin, *Trésor de Silos*, Paris, 1901

[3] Cumont, *Textes, etc.* i, p. 365.

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was established the court of the emperor of the West, and that the emperor at this time was Maximian, a devotee to Mithras, whilst Milan seems to have been the place in the whole valley of the Po where the worship of the sun-god had official protection, though the dedication at Como (c. 300) of a temple to the sun, by order of Diocletian and Maximian,[1] is recorded.

From Milan, St. Sebastian is said to have gone to Rome, where, greatly regarded by the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, he was raised to a command in the palatine guard. History, however, tells us that whilst Diocletian visited Rome to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his accession, he otherwise hardly saw it, preferring, when not on the march, his eastern capital of Nicomedia in Bithynia. There follows the account of the saint's secret visits to Christian prisoners, of his exhortations to them, of his illumination from heaven, and of his discovery by his enemies, his martyrdom, and his burial. The more we consider some of these details the more they seem to suggest that perhaps we have here, though only hinted at, a fragmentary account of an initiation into the rites of Mithras, distorted purposely, or, as is more likely, misunderstood, since the greatest secrecy prevailed concerning them. As M. Cumont has remarked, 'Les mystères païens étaient parfois de simples mystifications.' To this fragmentary account was added local colouring, memories of the Diocletian persecution, and the ordinary material that went to the making of stories of edification. Even in the fifth century, when the *Acts* of St. Sebastian are thought to have been written, many similar compositions of doubtful authenticity must have been in circulation, since in the Roman synod, held under pope Gelasius in 494, many of the *Acts* of the martyrs were excluded from the number of authentic works in the decretal *de Recipiendis*.[2]

The legends of many prominent saints so much resemble one another in important features as to appear to issue from a common mould. The interest of each consists, however, in the features peculiar to itself, and

[1] *Comptes rendus*, Acad. Inscr. 1914, pp. 147–150.

[2] E. R. Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs*, p. 182.

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not in those possessed in common with others. Thus St. Sebastian, in the legend, must needs occupy a position of importance, and therefore he is represented as an officer in the imperial guard; by his reproaches he provokes his persecutor; after martyrdom, his dead body is treated with contumely, and then rescued and given honourable burial by a devout woman. These features are common to the stories of many a martyr, but where the present case differs from others is in the account of the saint's prolonged illumination from heaven, during which time he is arrayed in dazzling splendour, and in the special form of his martyrdom. Another incident in the legend, the curing by the saint of a Roman prefect from mortal sickness on the condition of his consenting to the destruction of a secret chamber in his house, used for magical purposes, where was represented the stellar system, also seems suggestive, and to throw some light upon the problem. In the Mithraic mysteries, considerable prominence was given to astrology, and remains have been found in private houses of vaulted chambers dedicated to the cult, and perhaps originally painted (as we know the vaults of Mithraic caves were) to resemble the starry heavens. Many legends record the destruction of sacred images used in idolatrous worship, but in the legend of St. Sebastian alone, it would seem, do we read of the destruction, not of idols, but of a star-strewn magical chamber.

Let us consider the death and the return to life of St. Sebastian as a ceremony of initiation, and see how far the details of the legend bear out this conjecture. We know that Mithraea, like the one beneath the lower church of San Clemente, in Rome, were sometimes lighted from the roof.[1] Now in the story, St. Sebastian is said to have been illumined, whilst preaching, with a great splendour, coming down from heaven, in which splendour—and let us recall that rays of light are sometimes represented by arrows—he was clothed by seven angels with a pallium exceeding white. There were seven grades of initiation,[2] and in one of them the initiate

[1] Cumont, *Textes, etc.* ii, p. 204, fig. 30. [2] St. Jerome, *Epist.* c. vii.

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bore the title of *miles*.[1] May not the pallium be either the cloak assumed at this grade, seeing that members of the different grades assumed at the sacred ceremonies the disguise appropriate to the title awarded to them,[2] or may it not be reminiscent of the Kosmos garment, the mystic starry mantle, in which Mithras is sometimes arrayed, and which is sometimes represented as adorned with seven stars? And may not the seven angels be representative of either of the seven grades, or the seven stars? We may remember that in canto xxxi of the Purgatorio, the four cardinal virtues to whom Dante is led after his plunge into Lethe, exclaim, 'here we are nymphs, and in heaven are stars.'

Mithras was pre-eminently a military divinity, and it is as a soldier that we first meet with Sta Sebastian. In what is perhaps the earliest known representation of him, a fifth-century painting in the crypt of St. Cecilia, as well as in the before-mentioned seventh-century mosaic in San Pietro-in-Vincoli in Rome, near to which was once a Mithraeum,[3] the saint is portrayed as a soldier with a pallium. Furthermore, just as the initiate remained for a season in seclusion, during which time he was thought to die unto his old life and to rise again unto a new one, so St. Sebastian is thought to be dead, and to come to life again, and is finally said to be beaten to death with rods. In this connexion we may recall the fact that in some part of the mysterious Mithraic ceremonial, as in other initiations, a sacred rod, made of a bundle of twigs, was used. Again, we read that he suffered martyrdom in the hippodrome or garden of the palace.[4] Near this traditional spot on the Palatine, not far from which was once a temple of Apollo,[5] there now exists a church[6] dedicated to the saint, and, on the same hill, a

[1] An inscription by two 'soldiers' of Mithras has lately been found at Patras: see Avezou and Picard, *R.H.R.T.* lxiv (1911), pp. 179–183.

[2] See bas-relief of Konjica: Cumont, *Textes, etc.* i, p. 175, fig. 10. Compare also, for ceremonial disguise, the priest of the Babylonian fish-god Hanni-Oannes, who, when officiating, was clad in the skin and head of the holy fish: Eisler, *Wettermantel und Himmelszelt*, 1910, i, p. 82.

[3] Cumont, *Textes, etc.* i, p. 353.

[4] Jordan and Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt in Alterthum*, i, 3te. Abt. 1907, p. 94.

[5] O. L. Richmond, 'The Augustan Palatium,' *Journ. of Roman Studies*, iv, pp. 193–226.

[6] There is no historical mention of this church before A.D. 1001, but a small church was built in the eighth century in honour of the saint: Marucchi, *Le forum Romain et le Palatin*, 1902.

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temple of the Magna Mater, whose worship was associated with that of Mithras. An inscription of the time of Severus records that there once existed on the Palatine a Mithraeum which must have been in close proximity to the imperial palace, though its site has not yet been discovered,[1] and in connexion with this, we may recall that in his *Orations*, the emperor Julian, in the *Hymn of king Helios* (153 D), whom he identifies with Mithras, says: 'Apollo also dwells on the Palatine hill, and *Helios* himself,' thus indicating the existence of a Mithraeum.

Here we have two references to a Mithraeum on the Palatine, and here also on the Palatine we find the important church of St. Sebastian. In the light of these two references and as there must have been a Mithraeum in connexion with the palace, is it presuming too much to surmise that this church of the saint may have been the site of the imperial Mithraeum?[2] This would naturally take precedence over all other shrines in Rome consecrated to Mithras, and doubtless later, when this sun-temple was adapted to Christian purposes, such prestige might attach to the church.

Even the name of the church itself, San Sebastian in Palladio, or Pallara, is significant. It has been suggested[3] that probably the name Palladio, Pallara, may be derived from the Palladium Palatinum of the temple of Elagabalus, said by tradition to have stood near by, but is it not possible that it may have taken this name from the pallium of Mithras?

This suggested association of the three temples, to the sun-god of Emesa (temple of Elagabalus), to Mithras, and to Apollo, in close proximity, seems worth noting when we remember the three forms of sun-worship respectively honoured by the emperors Aurelian, Diocletian, and Constantine.[4]

Leaving the Palatine, and going by way of the Porta San Sebastiano, near to the Catacomb of St. Calixtus (with

[1] Jordan and Hülsen, op. cit. p. 104, note Mithraeum; *C.I.L.* vi, 2271: L. Septimus Augg. lib. *Archelaus pater et Sacerdos invicti Mithrae domus Augustanae.*

[2] As an example, among many, that such dedications were possible, we note that in 361 at Alexandria the patriarch George provoked a riot in attempting to erect a church on the ruins of a Mithraeum: Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, 1903, p. 202.

[3] Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 525.

[4] Frothingham, op. cit.

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its early painting of St. Sebastian) and to the church of St. Sebastian on the Appian way, we come to the Catacomb of Pretextatus, where, in an adjoining passage, there have been discovered Mithraic frescoes of the end of the second or beginning of the third century, representing, among other subjects, a celestial banquet. This yet further shows that places we now connect with St. Sebastian were, in early centuries, Mithraic centres.[1] It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that both the place on the Palatine where tradition says he was shot with arrows, and the place on the Appian way where tradition says he was buried, were on the site of, or close to, Mithraic temples.

Gradually legend, as happened in the case of many saints, crystallised about these places. A legend, once formed and accepted, may, in course of centuries, appeal to the faithful in different ways. If at first St. Sebastian was nothing more than a christianised Apollo-Mithras, it by no means follows that in mediaeval days, when his original status was forgotten, or at least confused, he should be primarily thought of as a saint with a radiant pallium. When, after the tenth century, it became the custom, with ever increasing frequency, to set up images of the saints, and, as time went on, to provide each saint with such consistent forms or emblems as made his image immediately recognisable, the distinguishing feature for any particular saint might be taken from any part of his legend. Thus St. Sebastian might have been represented as a soldier in shining pallium, or as a martyr beaten to death with rods, just as well as a man tied to a stake and shot with arrows.[2] The fact, however, that it was this last form that ultimately prevailed need not be regarded as mere accident. It was, in fact, the best expression of the fundamental idea of the legend. In the image thus composed, when Mithras had faded from memory, and Christian art had inherited what Greek art had attained to, the youthful sun-god, as Apollo, re-emerges, no longer, however, as the archer slinging

[1] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, i, pt. 1, p. 25.

[2] For early representations see Von Hadeln, *Die Wichtigsten Darstellungsformen des St. Sebastian in der Italienischen Malerei bis zum Ausgang des Quattrocento*, 1906.

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his arrows over the world, but as a divine, or semi-divine, personage, whom arrows might pierce but could not slay.[1]

So Apollo-Mithras, god of light, whose rays are sometimes likened to, and depicted as, arrows, was, by an inverse process as he became christianised, transformed from 'the divine archer' into the arrow-stricken saint, and the legend of St. Sebastian is, it would seem, the result of this process.

[1] For an early example of this youthful St. Sebastian see *Vies et Passions des Saints*, thirteenth century, Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 20, p. vi, fo. 48b; compare Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 412, f. 52d (A.D. 1285).

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## NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC NUMERALS IN EUROPE. By G. F. Hill. 10×6½, 125 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915. 7s. 6d. n.

Some five years ago Mr. Hill read a paper before the Society of Antiquities, which, printed in *Archaeologia* (lxii, 137–190), has been revised and expanded into this useful volume. Although the question of the origin of Arabic numerals has been frequently and fully discussed, no previous attempt of so comprehensive a character has been made to exhibit the development of their forms. While a number of German examples, almost exclusively, as Mr. Hill points out, from the monumental evidence of a comparatively small district, were collected by Mauch and formed the subject of his articles in *Anzeiger für Kunde der Deutschen Vorzeit* for 1861, Mr. Hill has brought together a thousand examples from a number of countries and a large variety of sources, among which manuscripts take an important place. The fifty-one tables of drawings of numerals which appeared in *Archaeologia*, with some rearrangement of four of them, have been increased to sixty-four, and to these is prefixed an explanatory introduction and a list of some doubtful examples. Between 976, the date of a series of numerals in the Spanish Codex Vigilanus in the Escorial, and 1500 Mr. Hill has included all or most of the examples which he has noticed. After 1500 the use of Arabic numerals becomes so frequent that he has given only selected examples from his collection, which amount to between a quarter and a third of the whole number.

Although thoroughly representative, this collection of instances does not profess to be a complete *corpus* of its subject. The six tables (xvii–xxii) of examples from British monuments, brasses and bells, are admitted by Mr. Hill not to cover all the known cases of Arabic numerals in such connexions; and he mentions four dates of the late fifteenth century, two from Fountains and two from Ripon, which he has had no opportunity of verifying or using. Sixteen tables are devoted to manuscripts, three (vi, viii and ix) being taken from English manuscripts ranging from the third decade of the fourteenth century to 1460. German monuments, seals, paintings, printed books, engravings, coins, etc., occupy no less than twenty-three tables (xxiii–xlv): this is due to the abundant evidence, especially from Austria and Bavaria, for examples of authentic dates. Of the remaining tables, six (xlvii–lii) are from coins and paintings of the Low countries, nine (liv–lxii) are from Italian sources, one each from Swiss coins (xlvi), French medals (liii) and inscriptions in Rhodes (lxiii),

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while the last (LXIV) is a miscellaneous collection from various objects between 1301 and 1521. It is surprising to find no monumental examples from a country so rich in mediaeval architecture as France. Of the eight dates selected from French medals more than half appear to be due to Italian influence. While it seems that no adequate attempt has been made by French antiquaries to collect examples and their poverty may be only apparent, one may on the other hand conjecture with Mr. Hill that this lack of material cannot 'be wholly due to accidents of search or publication.'

A comparison between the contents of the German and Italian tables substantiates Mr. Hill's conclusion that 'of the two countries . . . it is racially characteristic that while the Germans seem to be ahead in the practical use of the numerals, the Italians lead the way in the development of their forms.' British examples, though backward in development, display considerable variety of form, especially in the case of 5, the last of the numerals to attain its present normal shape, and at all times susceptible of various treatment. The selection provided in this volume will be of the utmost assistance to students of manuscripts and inscriptions, who, as the 'black list' at the end of the introduction shows, are somewhat easily misled by the gradual but perplexing changes in the form of the numerals, and should be an incitement to the discovery and record of instances as yet unnoticed.

A. H. T.

CITIES IN EVOLUTION: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TOWN-PLANNING MOVEMENT AND TO THE STUDY OF CIVICS. By PATRICK GEDDES. 9×5¾, xvi+409. 59 illustrations. London: Williams and Norgate, 1914. 7s. 6d. n.

Professor Geddes, in this survey of the town-planning movement, writes from the standpoint of the cultured sociologist who, taking the broadest view of his subject, appeals to every section of the community to co-operate in the work of realising the ideal city of the new age. Much of his work lies outside the province of this *Journal*, and with the social and economic theories with which his enthusiasm is largely concerned we have little to do. The town-planning movement is a modern development whose ultimate success depends upon a complete revolution in the existing order of things. Its pioneers are still looking about them, giving their consciousness free play amid circumstances which are at present anything but wholly favourable to their efforts, and feeling their way in cautious and, so far as our own country is concerned, comparatively insignificant experiments. To those who regard the movement mainly from the point of view of its connexion with present-day phases of architectural activity, this essay will be a revelation of the many-sidedness and complexity of the problem which its advocates, with earnestness and conviction, have set themselves to solve.

With ultra-modern and progressive views Professor Geddes combines a sense of the importance of the history of the past, and among the creators

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of the city of the future he finds a place for the archaeologist and historian. It is a favourable augury for his Utopia that, instead of being 'pinnacled dim in the intense inane,' it is founded upon a careful observation of local conditions. He himself belongs to the class of thinkers who are occupied primarily with the philosophy of civic science. But this class, to give practical shape to its thought, needs the help and guidance of the architect and antiquary alike and in its turn directs their work into new channels. In such surveys of cities as that which is in progress in the Outlook tower at Edinburgh, and in the various town-planning exhibitions which Professor Geddes has helped to promote, these three classes of workers are drawn more closely together and exercise their mutual influence. Other sciences, of course, have their contributions to add to the sum total of observation which is a necessary starting-point for the regeneration of the modern city, and the plan and description of the exhibition organised at the *Exposition universelle* at Ghent in 1913 illustrate the variety of interests which it is possible to enlist to this end. No influence, however, can be more important than that of the well-informed antiquary, whose sense of the local spirit of his town and knowledge and love of its history and older buildings may be used at once to inspire modern improvements and restrain unsuitable developments.

While Professor Geddes' historical studies have naturally been merely subsidiary to his other work, they bear fruit in some of the most interesting passages of a book which is lively throughout. The historical generalisations in which he indulges are admirably expressed and for the most part rest on a sound basis of truth. Profoundly impressed by the modern activity of Germany in town-planning, he nevertheless sees clearly the distinction between the old burgher spirit which was responsible for the beauty of the mediaeval cities of Germany and the spirit of imperial centralisation which has created Berlin and has impressed itself upon the civic architecture of other towns. He sees and describes with some humour the variety of influences at work upon the buildings of a great modern city like Düsseldorf. While such abundant evidence of progressive energy has its fascination for him, he readily recognises its less promising elements. His ideal city is an individual growth, taking its life and colour from its special conditions of climate and natural surroundings and expressing its idiosyncrasies in buildings of local material. The grandiose and often pretentious architecture of the modern capital, with its dominating influence upon the lesser cities of the state, is hostile to such individuality, and the 'Caesarist' ambitions of the great world-cities, of which the Hausmannisation of Paris was the prototype in our own day, are to Professor Geddes a step in the wrong direction. Of the modifications in town-planning which have been due to war he has much to say. The present war broke out after his book was in type, and, although he admits courageously that he has altered nothing on that account, we imagine that, had the tide of Prussian aggression broken over Europe at the time of writing, some of his conclusions might have been considerably qualified in the light of recent events. The ruthless destruction by German artillery of the cloth-hall at Ypres, the most magnificent monument of the civic spirit in western Europe, confirms his conviction of the intolerance of Caesarism for his

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own ideals, while it can hardly encourage his optimism for an immediate future in which an age of war and devastation is to give way to an era of peace and civic reconstruction. In a concluding paragraph the adverse influence of the war upon the town-planning movement is acknowledged, but the spirit of the enthusiast rises superior to depression.

The book contains several allusions to mediaeval town-planning, the survival of which is illustrated by reproductions of plans of Salisbury in the eighteenth century and Oxford in 1578. The first of these is on too small a scale to be adequate, which is also the case with several other plans at various points in the text. It is pointed out that the open spaces and gardens of the mediaeval town have been built over and crowded out by the utilitarian energy of the industrial age which is now passing, the 'paleotechnic' age, as Professor Geddes calls it in contrast to the 'neotechnic' age heralded by fresh applications of the forces of nature. As a vivid example of 'the change from the old régime to modern paleotechnic conditions' he cites the view of Durham from the railway. While the view in question certainly exhibits a remarkable antithesis between mediaeval beauty and modern ugliness, the 'vast development of the modern mining town' is an exaggerated phrase. As Professor Baldwin Brown has pointed out (*The Arts in Early England*, i, 95), we have only to 'think away railway and railway quarter,' and 'mediaeval Durham still lies before us.' The view of Lincoln from Canwick hill and of Norwich from Mousehold heath strike us as better instances of the engulfing of a mediaeval city by modern industrial surroundings, although neither is perhaps quite so striking or as familiar to the ordinary traveller. Durham is not 'a beauty-spot of the coal age.' It is a spot whose old-world beauty the coal age has indeed invaded, but has been powerless to destroy.

A new science must to some extent coin its own terms, and these for a time cannot but seem outlandish and obscure to all but their inventors. Doubtless we shall become reconciled, as time goes on, to the curious substantives and adjectives, usually compounded from the serviceable languages of Greece and Rome, which help Professor Geddes to formulate his ideas. Even the *infima Latinitas* of such a word as 'conurbation,' used to describe the various congeries of industrial cities for which he coins the English terms Lancaston, Midlandton, Waleston, etc. may become familiar and even cease to be obnoxious. This delight in neo-scientific phraseology is frequently too apparent, and neither enlivens Professor Geddes' style nor enlightens the reader. His writing at its best is clear and attractive. While the cautious student of his pages will hardly be ready to discover in the town-planning movement all that he claims for it and will lay due stress on certain elements incidental to human progress which seem scarcely to enter within his ken, it is impossible not to admire the enthusiasm and vivaciousness of his view of the past, present and future of our cities. Ruskin and William Morris are naturally among the modern writers who have affected his thought, and the book contains at least one attempt to convey an idea in the characteristic manner of Ruskin's later years, which, detached from its context, might be well taken as serious parody. Its style is also not free from a certain amount of vagueness and repetition, but, as the careful arrangement of its component parts

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begins to be seen, these defects become less noticeable. Much that at first appears to be merely vague and fluid writing is more firmly defined, and repetitions and recapitulations are recognised as inalienable from the novelty and difficulty of the subject. Clear print and short summaries at the head of each chapter add to the readableness and intelligibility of the volume: there is a useful index; and the illustrations, where they are not too small to be more than visible, form an agreeable comment on portions of the text.

A. H. T.

THE ROMAN SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION. By the late W. T. Arnold. Third edition revised by E. S. Bouchier. 7½ × 5, x+284 pp. With a map. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1914. 5s. n.

Mr. Arnold's original essay was written in 1870, and, however much modern archaeological research has expanded our conception of the subject, this book is probably still, as the late Dr. Shuckburgh claimed it to be ten years ago, the best introduction to the subject that could be put in the hands of a student when beginning a serious study of Roman history. The treatment is somewhat disconnected, but the author's main estimate of the fabric of the Roman empire is always clear, showing, as he does, the fundamental flaw of ruling an immense empire without federation and without any representative system, the flaw of excessive centralisation, substituting machinery for organism, until the old and genuine municipal constitutions were finally and inevitably broken up. In this new edition Mr. Bouchier has wisely confined his notes and alterations to the needs of University students. He has added an appendix in which the provinces are arranged, together with a brief summary of their history, in the order of their acquisition; and he has brought the bibliography up to date, and at the same time removed from it many of its less important references.

A. M. W.

BYGONE HASLEMERE. A short history of the ancient borough and its immediate neighbourhood from earliest times. Edited by E. W. Swanton, aided by P. Woods, C.B. 8¾ × 5½, xvi+394 pp. 40 plates with plans and other illustrations. London: Newman & Co. 1914. 7s. 6d.

The editor of this carefully compiled and attractively produced volume has been for eighteen years curator of the educational museum established at Haslemere by the late Sir Jonathan Hutchinson. His preface bears witness to the active interest taken in his work by local residents, and the result of this co-operation is a valuable collection from a large variety of sources of the chief facts in the history of the place. The earliest mention of Haslemere

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occurs in a precept to the sheriff of Surrey (Close roll 5 Hen. III, m. 12) to deliver the manor and hundred of Godalming and the market of 'Heselmere,' then forming part of the manor, to Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury; but the chapel of Piperham, which represents the later parochial chapel of Haslemere, is mentioned in the register of St. Osmund among the possessions of the church of Salisbury as early as the last quarter of the twelfth century. Evidence for the mediaeval history of the place is somewhat scanty. Piperham was a chapelry of Chiddingfold, which seems originally to have been a chapelry of Godalming, and there can be little doubt that the chapel of Haslemere, which, with its churchyard, was licensed for consecration by bishop Edington of Winchester in June, 1363—a period at which, owing to the crowding of churchyards in consequence of recent pestilences, such licences are common—was the twelfth-century chapel already mentioned. The independent growth of the market town of Haslemere is obscure. In 1393–4 bishop Waltham of Salisbury obtained a grant of a weekly market on Wednesday and a yearly fair from 13th to 17th September. The borough, with the hundred and manor of Godalming, was conveyed in 1542 to Sir Thomas Paston, who on 20th April in that year exchanged them *inter alia* with the Crown for property in Norfolk. By charter of 24th May, 1596, queen Elizabeth granted a weekly Tuesday market and two yearly fairs, one as before and the other from 1st to 3rd May, to the bailiff and burgesses. Earlier than this, in 1584, the borough, though in no flourishing condition at the time, began to send two members to parliament. The Mores of Loseley, to whom the hundred and manor of Godalming were granted in 1601, subsequently influenced the representation, but not without considerable and successful opposition. After the disfranchisement of the borough in 1832 the history of Haslemere was uneventful. Its position on the Portsmouth road prevented it from lapsing into complete obscurity, and situated in unusually beautiful and healthy country and on one of the main lines of the London and South-Western railway, it developed gradually into the centre of a large residential district.

In addition to a survey of its history, the twenty-eight chapters of this book contain some account of the older buildings and antiquities of Haslemere, the local industries, local folk-lore and legend, and the cricket club. From the sketches reproduced among the illustrations, the old church appears to have been much altered internally during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A plain oak arcade, cased with lath and plaster, remained till the later thirties of the last century, when it was superseded by iron pillars and arches. At the same time what remained of the old rood-screen was removed, and the plain rectangular east window, which in 1801 had been filled with nine panels of early sixteenth-century stained glass, brought from a house in Kent, was enlarged. Haslemere became a separate parish in 1868, and in 1870 the old church, except the base of the tower and some part of the north wall, was taken down and the present church built. Eight of the old glass panels have been placed in two of the modern windows, but the ninth and an alleged tenth have vanished. The new building is in the 'Early English' manner then fashionable; and at the present day the old church, injured though it had been in 1836–7 and even earlier, would possibly have met with more conservative treatment. It would seem from

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the sketches of the interior that the woodwork removed in 1870, particularly the western gallery, was not without merit, and it is certainly matter for regret, to say the least of it, that the old font was allowed to disappear.

The volume is dedicated to the memory of the architect of the new church and editor of the parish registers, Mr. J. W. Penfold, a member of an old local family, whose collections for the history of the parliamentary borough and transcripts of the monumental inscriptions in church and churchyard have been utilised by the editors. Portraits of him and other modern celebrities of Haslemere are included among the illustrations, which also include several views and drawings of local interest and some clear and excellent photographs of documents from the close and charter rolls, the Loseley monuments, and one or two other sources. A plan of the parliamentary borough in 1735 is also given, with a sketch-plan by Mr. Penfold of the church and churchyard, and a map of the parish with field-names. The utmost pains have evidently been taken to ensure accuracy, and such errors as we have noticed appear to be mainly the fault of the printer. Local histories frequently suffer from want of proportion and a somewhat bald presentation of facts. In this case some of the wealth of information crowded into the text—e.g. the biography of general Oglethorpe in chapter xvii—might have been put with advantage in an appendix. The book as a whole lacks that clarity and compression of style which, by giving its proper value to each necessary detail, makes even the driest material readable. Its editors, however, may be congratulated upon producing a highly valuable work of reference, which should be gratefully appreciated by their neighbours and by Surrey antiquaries in general.

A. H. T.

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NO. 1. OLD MAN AND YOUTH: BRUGES CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

NO. 2. GROUP: BRUGES CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

NO. 3. VALENTINE AND ORSON: BEVERLEY ST. MARY'S.

NO. 4. MESSENGER: BRUGES CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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# MISERICORDS IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT-SAUVEUR, BRUGES.[1]

By A. ABRAM, D.Sc. F.R.Hist.S.

The misericords in the cathedral church of Saint-Sauveur at Bruges have considerable artistic merit; it is not, however, primarily as works of art that I wish to deal with them, but as illustrations of life and manners; and from this point of view I venture to think that their value could hardly be surpassed by any similar set of carvings. They are records of the life of the people of Bruges during the period when it was one of the most important cities of northern Europe, and they have a special interest for us because at that time intercourse between England and Bruges, and indeed between England and the whole of Flanders, was very frequent. Many English traders visited Flanders, and many Flemish artisans settled in England, and the two countries were bound together by the most intimate political and commercial ties.

M. L. Maeterlinck, the Conservateur of the Musée de Gand, in his study of *Le Genre satirique dans la sculpture flamande*, claims that Flemish influence is visible in a large number of beautiful stalls in English churches, and that many of them were actually executed by Flemings.[2] It is also said that many of the misericords in Norfolk and Kent, counties especially rich in wood-carving, were chiefly the work of Flemish artists who came over to England in the reign of Edward III.[3] A discussion of the general effects of the immigration of these craftsmen lies outside the limits of this paper, but in the course of it attention will be drawn to some English examples analogous to those at Bruges, so that we may see whether there is sufficient resemblance between them to suggest that they emanated from workmen of the same nation, or whether they merely indicate a similarity between the manners and customs of England and Flanders. Resemblances are sometimes due to the use of common

[1] Read before the Institute, 6th December, 1914.

[2] p. 269 et seq.

[3] Miss Emma Phipson, *Choir Stalls and their Carvings*, 7.

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sources such as bestiaries and sacred legends, or to the employment of recognised conventional methods. We ought not to attach much importance to anything which can be explained in this way; but we must be on the watch for features, however trivial and commonplace they may be, which have been taken from life.

The Bruges misericords are made of brown oak, and are forty-three in number, arranged in two rows on the north side of the quire, and two on the south, the back rows being raised above the front. There are eleven in the back row on the north side and twelve in the front, and ten in each row on the south side. Three seats on the north and two on the south are plain. Some return stalls were removed in 1679, so probably at one time there were several more than there are now. Unfortunately many of those that remain have been injured, some very badly, some only slightly, and it is to be feared that they may fare even worse in the future.

There are slight differences of opinion as to the date of the misericords. The custodians give it as 1430; M. Maeterlinck says that they were certainly executed in the first half of the fifteenth century, but thinks that some of them were remade in 1608[1]; M. Weale and M. Verhaegen believe that they were put up in 1478, when the thirteenth chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece was held in Saint-Sauveur.[2] Unfortunately I have not been able to communicate with any of these gentlemen, or to obtain first-hand documentary evidence on the point, but by comparing the misericords with pictures and illuminations in manuscripts whose history is well authenticated we can, I think, satisfactorily settle the question.

They deal with a great variety of subjects, and throw much light upon the physiognomy, taste, and costume of the people for whom they were made, and upon their manner of living. I have classified them under eight heads: those depicting (1) everyday life, (2) child life, (3) trades or occupations, (4) travelling, (5) amusements, (6) foliage, (7) those inculcating moral lessons, and (8) sacred

[1] Maeterlinck, op. cit. 83–84.
[2] W. H. J. Weale, *Bruges et ses environs*, 50; A. Verhaegen, *Monographie de l'église cathédrale de Saint-Sauveur à Bruges*, iv.

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subjects. Some of them are very difficult to understand, and I may have interpreted them wrongly, while others could be placed equally well under one or two of the heads.

They have some general characteristics which are very striking; foremost amongst them an extreme simplicity in composition and treatment, which is heightened by the fact that each consists of one piece of carving only, without supporters. This arrangement is common abroad, but it is particularly noticeable here because the centrepiece is very small in comparison with the size of the seat, its width ranging from 11⅜ to 13½ inches, while the seats measure 2 feet 5½ inches in width. In England supporters are not often omitted, but are frequently important adjuncts, and occasionally integral parts of the design, adding greatly to the richness of the effect. The simplicity of the misericords in the church of Saint-Sauveur is the more remarkable because, although the decline of Bruges had really begun, the city appeared during the first half of the fifteenth century to be at the very height of its prosperity. Its wealthy citizens, following the example of their rulers, the great dukes of Burgundy, were lavishing enormous sums of money on luxuries of all kinds: their buildings, their dress, their food, their jewellery, their pageants were as gorgeous as they could possibly be,[1] and their splendour was reflected in other forms of art. Nevertheless there seems to have been good reasons for the simplicity of our misericords. At this time Saint-Sauveur was not a cathedral: it did not attain to that dignity until the nineteenth century, after the destruction of Saint-Donatien. It was a collegiate foundation,[2] but it was also a parish church. The misericords were designed to suit the taste of the parishioners, for an entry in the archives of the city concerning a dispute between two laymen as to the ownership of a stall in the quire proves that in some cases at least the seats were used by members of the

[1] H. Fierens-Gevaert, *Psychologie d'une ville, Essai sur Bruges*, chaps. xv and xvi; H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, ii, 392–393.

[2] M. Verhaegen (op. cit. 1) says that Saint-Sauveur 'est devenue collégiale en 1501,' but M. Gillioedts van Severen quotes a document dated 1455-6 in which it is mentioned, and also speaks of it in reference to an event which took place in 1429: Louis Gillioedts van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges* (hereafter cited as *Archives*), v, 474, 334 n.

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congregation.[1] There is much in the misericords themselves which leads us to think that the models studied by the carver were for the most part persons of somewhat humble position; moreover the smallness of the space at his disposal and the hardness of his material rendered elaboration of detail difficult and out of place, and, with the instinct of a true artist, he respected the limitations imposed upon him. His work, however, though simple, is never weak or lacking in character: on the contrary it is extraordinarily vigorous and expressive. It must be admitted that it sometimes appears rough and lacking in finish, but this is largely due to the coarse grain of the wood of which the misericords are made, and to the bad treatment which they have received. Not only are they broken, but they have been so badly rubbed that some of the faces are almost featureless, and in addition the wood has been varnished, and the varnish has peeled off, leaving irregular patches.

Another very noticeable characteristic of the Bruges misericords is their realism; many of the personages depicted are so natural that they seem copied straight from life. The carver was obliged occasionally to conform to the conventions of his craft, but on the whole there is extremely little of what Mr. Bond has called the standardisation of persons and animals.[2] In this, I think, they are typically Flemish; the Flemings when left to themselves were fond of realism, and much of their idealism was the result of foreign influence. The woodcarvers seem to have been a class apart by themselves, not in touch with foreign artists; and this gives their work unique value as a revelation of the tastes and character of the Flemish people, especially those of the lower classes. It is greatly to the credit of whoever is responsible for the Bruges carvings that their naturalness, judging by what remains of them, never degenerates into impropriety or vulgarity. I must confess, however, that M. Maeterlinck suggests that some of those which are missing may

[1] Stalls were apparently a source of revenue, and this one seems to have been sold to a second person while the owner was still alive: *Archives*, ii, 319. A similar dispute regarding a stall in the church of Saint-Gilles is also recorded, and one of the witnesses stated that it had been bought by a woman; so sex was evidently no bar to possession: ibid. ii, 320.

[2] F. Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches, Misericords*, 201–202.

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have been removed because their character was not in keeping with the sanctity of the place,[1] and his extensive knowledge of Flemish sculpture gives his opinion great weight.

Another quality which renders the work of the Bruges carver very pleasing is his intense feeling for light and shade. The contrast between them is sometimes so strong that the effect is almost Rembrandtesque. This must, I think, be attributed mainly to the skilful placing and deep undercutting of the misericords, as the cathedral is very dark, and upon some of them hardly any light falls even on a bright day. This peculiarity, however, has its disadvantages, as a good deal which we should like to see is blotted out by shadows.

Several of the carvings seem to be illustrations of tales; M. Maeterlinck thinks that they are probably French or Provençal fabliaux, but they may be Flemish stories.[2] Unfortunately I have not been able to identify them, but even without the context they are valuable as pictures of everyday life, showing what the people of Bruges liked to see. On the first (plate 1, no. 1) we have a young man, hat in hand, standing in a very deferential attitude before an aged man who is seated in a low-backed arm-chair. M. Maeterlinck describes them as a young noble and a hermit. He may be right as to the old man, but I do not think that the younger can be a noble, as his clothes are extremely plain, quite as plain as those of the working men we shall see later.

Next we have a group of five (plate 1, no. 2), amongst them the two we have already seen, who appear to be lending their support to a suppliant kneeling at the feet of two seated men. From this group we can gain a good idea of the masculine costume of the period: it consists of a fairly full gown reaching about three quarters of the way down the leg, or further in some cases, with a V-shaped opening at the neck, and held in place by a band round the waist. The sleeves are tight at the wrist, but loose and baggy above it. The young man, the one whose feet we can see best, is wearing low boots or buskins, slightly pointed, and fastened across the front by a strap,

[1] Maeterlinck, op. cit. 87 and 90. [2] ibid. 87.

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and is carrying a round hat with a brim. The old man has a hood, and as he has a large mantle over his other clothes, he may be dressed for travelling, or perhaps his age makes it necessary for him to be protected against the cold. One of the seated men seems to be wearing a tight cap, which may be some kind of coif, but on the other hand may be intended to represent closely-cropped hair. The other seated figure has short stiff hair, but the young man's is long and wavy; they are all clean-shaven, with the exception of the old man.

In one of the side panels of Roger van der Weyden's celebrated picture of the Seven Sacraments some of the men have closely-cropped hair, and baggy sleeves, and their gowns are not unlike these, though they do not fall negligently, but are pleated down the back and front. The frame of this picture bears the arms of the bishopric of Tournay, and of Jean Chevrot, bishop from 1437 to 1460, and we may safely conclude that it was painted between these dates.[1] Baggy sleeves occur a few times in a beautiful late fifteenth-century manuscript of the Romance of the Rose,[2] and also in a manuscript[3] written at Bruges about the same date, but the costume is otherwise very different from what we have here, and we ought not to attach too much importance to a single feature, which may be a survival from an earlier period. Fashions, if they caught the public fancy, often lasted a very long time in the middle ages: one of the characters in the Romance of the Rose, the Lover, who always wears baggy sleeves, also has shoes with very pointed toes, which we know were quite out of date at the end of the fifteenth century, and all the other characters have broad ones. Both these manuscripts are now in the British Museum.

A misericord from Beverley St. Mary's (plate 1, no. 3), executed in 1445, enables us to compare English and Flemish costume; it depicts an episode from the story of Valentine and Orson. The twin brothers, who had been carried off in their infancy, meet unexpectedly in a forest. One has been brought up at court, and the other is a woodman, and each is dressed according to his station; their hanging sleeves and Valentine's hat have no counterparts at Bruges,

[1] H. Fierens-Gevaert, *La Peinture en Belgique, Les Primitifs Flamands*, i, 46.

[2] MS. Harl. 4425.

[3] Roy. 14 E. v.

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but in other respects there is a good deal of resemblance between the styles of dress in the two countries. The workmanship of the carvers, however, presents a great contrast, and the lightness and delicacy of the Beverley work makes the Bruges misericords look somewhat heavy. We cannot see the hair of either of the brothers: probably it was too short to be visible, as close cropping was fashionable in England at this time. A manuscript in the British Museum,[1] written in 1445, contains a picture of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, offering the book in which it appears to Margaret of Anjou, and some of the onlookers have the short coif-like hair which we have already noticed at Bruges. Other kinds of hair-dressing can also be found in England; on a fifteenth-century misericord at St. Gregory's, Norwich, we have a curious example of a very stiff beard.

The third of our misericords (plate 1, no. 4) introduces new personages. The young man kneeling in the foreground seems to be reading some communication to the lady; perhaps he is a messenger, and the object that she is holding in her hand a token which he has brought as credentials. He is clad in armour, but as it is only very slightly indicated, and there is another better rendering of it, I will not comment upon it now. The man standing behind the messenger, listening to what he is reading, is possibly one of the lady's retainers; he is dressed in a pleated or quilted jacket, with buttons down the front. The lady affords an illustration of Flemish female costume: she has a very long voluminous robe, cut low at the neck, with an edging, or a turned-down collar, round the opening; the band placed only a little way below the bottom of it gives a high-waisted effect. Her head-dress is formed of a veil draped over large cauls. The humility of the messenger conveys the impression that she is a person of high rank, but her appearance is by no means aristocratic: her figure is very portly, she wears no jewellery, and her gown is of homely material. In style the gown is somewhat similar to that of St. Barbara in Jan van Eyck's unfinished study of the girl martyr, which is signed by him, and dated

[1] Roy. 15 E. vi.

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1437.[1] St. Barbara's skirts and sleeves, however, are much fuller; she is bare-headed, but Jan van Eyck's wife, as we see her in a picture he painted in 1439,[2] wears cauls. They were common in England for a considerable time; a pair on a misericord at Sherborne, carved in 1436,[3] and another at Rothwell described by Miss Phipson as belonging to the fifteenth century,[4] are very like the specimen we have here. Low-necked, high-waisted, trailing gowns were popular in England during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI.

On the fourth misericord (plate II, no. 1) the lady is having a meal with the aged man and the young one whom we saw on the first and second; the trestle-table is of the usual mediaeval type, but extraordinarily massive, and the extreme simplicity, if not poverty, of its equipment confirms us in the view that the carver, even if he wished to present persons of high rank, has really given us people in a humble way of life. There is no cloth, and not even a knife on the table, although there is a big jug under it. The diners have their hands on the table, but that was not thought bad manners in the middle ages. There is also a representation of this scene in the Gruuthuus, a fifteenth-century mansion, preserved as a municipal museum; and there the table has a long cloth, a knife is lying in front of the woman, and either a plate or a saucer, and what seems to be a fowl before the old man. This piece of work was done for an aristocratic patron, and possibly the designer had the chance of seeing society of a higher grade. The lady looks older than in the group in the cathedral, and the young man wears a hat.

The fifth misericord (plate II, no. 2) is very like the fourth, but two persons are seated at the table instead of three.

Another, which is very badly broken, bears traces of two figures moving towards each other, one of them, perhaps, carrying something, but so little is left that it is impossible to speak with certainty.

[1] 'Iohēs de Eyck me fecit 1437': Fierens-Gevaert, *La Peinture en Belgique*, i, 15.

[2] On the frame is written 'Conjux meus Johēs me complevit añō 1439': ibid. 16.

[3] Reproduced in Wright, *History of Caricature*, 124.

[4] Phipson, op. cit. p. 43 and plate 30.

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o face page 312.

NO. 1. DINNER : BRUGES.

NO. 2. A MEAL : BRUGES.

NO. 3. LEARNING TO WALK : BRUGES.

NO. 4. OLD MAN AND CHILD : BRUGES.



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Children are prominent upon no less than four of the comparatively perfect misericords, and they may also have figured upon two or three that are much injured. This is an unusually large proportion, as child-study was not general in mediaeval times. The first of the four (plate II, no. 3) shows us a tiny child learning to walk with the help of a prop ridiculously like the 'ski-cycle' so loved by the children of to-day. Its mother is watching over it and gently guiding its steps. They are not idealised, and they must both have been copied from life; the mother is too short and plump to be graceful, and the child has no neck. Nevertheless they make a tender and charming picture. In the second (plate II, no. 4) a little boy is standing by a table at which is seated an elderly man, perhaps our old friend. The child is evidently making himself useful; he has just handed food of some kind to the old man, or else is going to take it from him. It was quite in accordance with the ideas of the age that children should wait upon their elders. The boy, as is customary in mediaeval art, is dressed as if he were a man, except that his gown is a little longer, and it makes him look very dwarfish. The third of this little set (plate III, no. 1) ought perhaps to be placed amongst sacred subjects; it depicts Abraham about to offer up Isaac, but it is appropriate here as an example of filial obedience. M. Maeterlinck tells us that the sacrifice of Isaac is also to be found on a misericord in the church of Notre-Dame at Aerschot, and that it was intended to show the cruelty of the Jews in sacrificing little children.[1] It is extremely improbable that such a meaning was attached to it here: in 1438 Bruges submitted to the duke of Burgundy, after a very severe struggle against him; two years later he entered the city in triumph, and to welcome him the people put up gaily-decked arches, and arranged allegorical groups, conspicuous amongst which was the sacrifice of Isaac, meant to typify the absolute obedience they owed to him.[2] In England the subject was very popular; there are plays, or fragments of plays, on it included in the Chester, York, Towneley, and Coventry mysteries, and in the Brome

[1] Maeterlinck, op. cit. 162.

[2] E. G. Smith, *Bruges*, 245.

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manuscript. In all of them Abraham is presented as a most affectionate father, and in none of them is there a hint of disapproval of his conduct. At Worcester two misericords illustrate the episode.[1] Here Isaac is a well-made and well-proportioned child, much superior to the others we have seen.

Next we have a schoolmaster and two pupils (plate III, no. 2): he is seated, and one of the boys is kneeling before him repeating a lesson, while the other is assiduously studying a book. His face is so full of character that we cannot help wondering whether it is a portrait of some distinguished teacher of Bruges. There was a school connected with Saint-Sauveur,[2] and he may well have been one of its masters; or perhaps he was a doctor of divinity, or of some other faculty.[3] His cap is not unlike that worn by some of the cathedral clergy at the present day, and it bears a decided resemblance to one on the head of a doctor attending patients carved on a panel of a sixteenth-century chest in a room leading out of the dispensary at the hospital of Saint-Jean. He is pulling the ear of the kneeling pupil, but this form of correction is mild compared with that often inflicted by mediaeval schoolmasters. One of the early Chancery Proceedings relates to an action for damages brought against a priest for beating a child whom he was teaching, and the defendant replied that 'he had never hurt ne bete the child but as a child ought to be chastised for his lernyng.'[4] This point of view is well exemplified by a very interesting piece of carving in Norwich cathedral church (plate III, no. 3), apparently a monastic school held in the open air, for the master is a monk, and trees are growing in the background; perhaps the children are having their lessons in the garden instead of in the cloister. On another misericord at Sherborne a master is also inflicting corporal punishment on a pupil.[5] It is remarkable that in all three cases almost every one of the

[1] Bond, op. cit. 131.

[2] *Archives*, introd. 455, 481.

[3] It is suggested that the chancellor of the chapter formed the model for this representation of a teacher. His specific duty would be to look after the education of the young clerks as in many chapters. Both at Lichfield and Lincoln it was the office of chancellor to govern the school, and at Lincoln the divinity-school is known as the 'scholae cancellarii': *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, part ii, 20, 158, 687.

[4] *Early Chancery Proceedings*, 46, 162.

[5] Reproduced in Wright, op. cit. 121.

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NO. I. ABRAHAM AND ISAAC : BRUGES.

NO. 2. MASTER AND PUPILS : BRUGES.

NO. 3. CHASTISEMENT :
NORWICH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

NO. 4. VINTAGE : BRUGES.



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NO. 2. A SCULPTOR : BRUGES.

NO. 1. A TILER : BRUGES.

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of the period. Although the building is so small, we can gain some idea of the style, and of the material of which it was made. It is probably a house, but it might equally well be the porch of a church: it bears a strong resemblance to one which we shall see on another seat. Domestic and ecclesiastical buildings were very similar in those days, and perhaps the similarity was typical of the attitude of the mediaeval mind, which drew no distinction between things secular and things sacred.

The third of this series (plate IV, no. 2) has been much injured, but we can tell its meaning; on a trestle table lies the statue or effigy of a man, and the figure behind it was doubtless the sculptor who was shaping it. In Rouen cathedral church are three misericords showing carvers at work,[1] and there is one at the Architectural Museum, Tufton Street, formerly at Lynn St. Nicholas, of an English carver. Methods of work in England, France, and Flanders seem to have been very similar.

The next (plate IV, no. 3) is difficult to understand. The man with his hand on his knee is absurdly like a modern shoe-black. He is in exactly the right attitude, and might easily be holding a boot-brush, but this is, of course, an impossible interpretation, and one can only suggest that he is selling something, or collecting alms, as the man standing opposite to him seems to be giving money.

The last of this set (plate IV, no. 4) is on the face of it quite simple, but it may have some secondary meaning. We take it to be a boatman and his passenger, perhaps one of the ferrymen of Bruges, but it might be Charon. From an artistic point of view it is one of the best of the misericords. The boat, its occupant, and the water are all excellently rendered; the craftsman had many opportunities of studying boats and boatmen, for the harbours of Bruges and of its port of Damme, three miles away, were full of shipping. In the first half of the fifteenth century the Zwin, an arm of the sea, came right up to the city, although unfortunately the sand was silting up and threatening to block it. This misericord serves to remind us of the great value of waterways in the

[1] E.-H. Langlois, *Stalles de la cathédrale de Rouen*, pl. iv, no. 18, p. 22; pl. v, nos. 22 and 26, pp. 140 and 141.

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NO. 2. A COUNTRYWOMAN (?) : BRUGES.

NO. 4. THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL : BRUGES.

NO. 1. THE TRAVELLER : BRUGES.

NO. 3. A PILGRIM : BRUGES.

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NO. 1. HAWKING: BRUGES.

NO. 2. A FALCONER: BRUGES.

NO. 3. FALCONER FEEDING A HAWK: BEVERLEY MINSTER.

NO. 4. A GAME: BRUGES.

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middle ages, when much traffic was carried on by means of them.

We also have examples of other methods of travelling. A venerable old man (plate v, no. 1) with a long beard, in clothes fit to withstand any weather, is hurrying along as if he had a long way to go, and a woman (plate v, no. 2), a nun it seems from her hood, but possibly merely a countrywoman, has tucked up her skirt in a most business-like manner, as if in preparation for a journey. It is very tantalising to see only part of these two misericords; in both cases the missing figures seem to have been short, and in the first the feet are evidently those of a small person, and may have belonged to a child; but the outline of the second does not suggest a human being at all.

Religious motives inspired many persons to undertake journeys to shrines far and near, and this characteristic of mediaeval life is embodied in a delightful carving of a stalwart pilgrim (plate v, no. 3), staff in one hand, and a bag for provisions in the other, resolutely making his way up a steep rock to a town perched on the top of it, perhaps intended to be one of the holy places. Its architectural features and the strength of its walls are well indicated, and it is interesting to compare it with an equally good but somewhat more detailed representation of the walls of a city, from Ripon minster, executed about 1490, which serve as a background for Samson carrying away the gates of Gaza. Zeal for pilgrimages seems to have lasted longer in Flanders and the surrounding district than elsewhere: it had almost died out in England by this time; but in 1447 the relics at Aix-la-Chapelle attracted so many worshippers that the États de Liége could not assemble.[1] At Bruges pilgrims were housed for the night at the hospice of Saint-Julien, and if they fell ill they were taken to the hospital of Saint-Jean.[2] At the very end of the fifteenth century we find the city setting aside money for gifts to help those who were going to the holy Sepulchre.[3]

A very clever rendering of the conversion of St. Paul (plate v, no. 4) illustrates the ordinary mode of travelling amongst the well-to-do. We call to mind the descrip-

[1] Pirenne, op. cit. ii, 437.
[2] *Archives*, iii, 440.
[3] ibid. vi, 401.

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tion of St. Paul's horse in the Digby mystery play which deals with his conversion :

> a palfray
> There can no man a better bestryde.

It is so much more life-like than any other animal at Bruges, and the details of the carving are so much more carefully elaborated than those of the other misericords, that one is inclined to regard it as by a different hand. Its date can be approximately fixed by an article of St. Paul's costume, for turbans similar to the one he is wearing occur in Lydgate's metrical Life of St. Edmund,[1] written for Henry VI in 1433, and in a Flemish Bible belonging to the Huth collection in the British Museum,[2] said to have been executed about the middle of the fifteenth century. They are also to be seen in a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian painted by Memlinc about 1470,[3] in his Martyrdom of St. Ursula, which is slightly later,[4] and in a rather more elaborate form in his Beheading of St. John Baptist (one of the wings of the *Mariage mystique*, at the hospital of Saint-Jean, Bruges) begun about 1473.[5] The date of our carving should therefore lie between 1433 and 1475 to 1480. Fortunately there is another indication of the date in the shortness of St. Paul's spur ; long ones, sometimes inordinately long, were in use until about 1460, and then shorter ones became general,[6] so we shall probably not go far wrong if we attribute the carving to the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Our misericords give us some idea of the sports and pastimes of the Flemings. They were evidently very fond of hawking : two represent a couple of men carrying falcons. One (plate VI, no. 1) is riding through a wood. It is difficult to believe that the uncouth beast on which he is mounted is by the same artist as St. Paul's magnificent horse ; moreover his spur is much longer than St. Paul's, which points to the two carvings being of different dates The spur has no rowel, and oddly enough there is no sign of there ever having been one. The other hawk is carried by a falconer (plate VI, no. 2). This misericord

[1] Harl. MS. 2278.
[2] Add. MS. 38, 122.
[3] Fierens-Gevaert, *La Peinture en Belgique*, ii, plate 83 and p. 126.
[4] ibid. pl. 102, p. 135.
[5] ibid. pl. 86, p. 128.
[6] Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, i, 478.

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NO. 1. KNIGHT AND LADY: NORWICH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

NO. 2. BLIND MAN'S BUFF (?): BRUGES.

NO. 3. A MEDIAEVAL FANCY: BRUGES.

NO. 4. ELBOW-REST: CLEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.

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NO. I. A VINE-BRANCH : BRUGES.

NO. 2. FLOWERS : BRUGES.

NO. 3. CONVENTIONAL FOLIAGE : BRUGES.

NO. 4. A STAG IN A WOOD : BRUGES.

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is an example of the beautiful effects produced by sharp contrasts of light and shade, and it is also worthy of praise for the masterly way in which swift motion is suggested. Hawking was a favourite subject for misericords in England, and many phases of the sport are illustrated upon them. In Winchester college chapel we have a hawk killing its prey; at Beverley minster (plate VI, no. 3) a falconer is feeding his bird; and at Sherborne two men, one on horseback and the other on foot, are following the hawk.

The next subject (plate VI, no. 4) though badly mutilated, is still recognisable: two men are seated on the ground face to face, their feet pressed together, struggling for the possession of a stick which they hold between them. The same game is depicted on a misericord in the cathedral church at Rouen, and M. Langlois calls it 'le panoye.'[1] Strutt has a picture of it, but he terms it an exercise derived from the quintain.[2] This misericord affords a second illustration of the armour worn at Bruges at this time, and we are surprised to find it so plain, as we know from manuscripts that extremely elaborate suits were in general use. Among the most noticeable features here are the little fastenings apparently holding the upper and lower parts together; they are very like the arming points fastening ailettes on an effigy of a knight of the Pembridge family, of the time of Edward II, in Clehonger church, Herefordshire.[3] They also remind us somewhat of the straps which sometimes join tuilles to the lowest hoops of tassets. There are several of these on English brasses, the earliest being on that of John Leventhorpe, in Sawbridgeworth church, Hertfordshire (1433),[4] and one of the latest on a brass of Sir Anthony Grey, who died in 1480, and is buried at St. Albans[5]. It was perhaps rather difficult to give the effect of armour in wood, but it could be done. In an example from Norwich cathedral (plate VII, no. 1) we see the devices adopted to protect different parts of the body, the head, neck, chest, elbows, knees, feet, in the 'camail period,' and another from Beverley St. Mary's

[1] Langlois, op. cit. pl. xii, no. 83 and p. 158.

[2] Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 112 and pl. xv.

[3] Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, i, 4, and plate ii.

[4] J. Hewitt, *Arms and Armour*, supplement, 436.

[5] *Hist. Mon. Comm. for Herts.* 183.

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gives us a specimen of fully-developed plate armour, but this is not so satisfactory.

A carving of a young girl with her eyes bandaged and two young men beside her (plate VII, no. 2) is rather curious. It appears to be a game of Blind Man's Buff, but in that case it is difficult to explain why she should be holding anything in her hand. M. Maeterlinck thinks the object is a dagger and that she intends to kill herself or one of her companions with it, but their attitudes are so playful that the subject can hardly be tragic, but is more likely to be a game of some sort. The girl has a long trailing robe like a matron, but her hair, as was usual at her age, is hanging down over her shoulders.

The next (plate VII, no. 3) is also somewhat difficult to understand. It is a man's head with either flames or leaves issuing from his mouth. The former recall the fire-eating tricks of Indian jugglers, and the type of face seems rather Asiatic, but probably the more prosaic interpretation is the right one. At Beverley St. Mary's there is a man, who looks like an African, with bunches of fruit hanging out of his mouth, and another at Cley church, Norfolk (plate VII, no. 4), has leaves coming out of his: fancies of this kind pleased the mediaeval mind, and were possibly borrowed from travellers' tales.

Ten misericords deal with foliage, fruit, or flowers. One is a branch of a vine (plate VIII, no. 1) which recalls the grape-gatherers we have already seen. It may have some symbolical meaning, or perhaps is an allusion to a verse in the Bible, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches.' Another consists of a bunch of flowers (plate VIII, no. 2), possibly roses and tulips, but they are not at all natural. The rest are foliage of a conventional type (plate VIII, no. 3), bold and not ineffective, but somewhat coarse; they vary slightly, but are all of the same style. They are so different from the other misericords that it seems probable that they were executed at a later date, and possibly were some of those which, as M. Maeterlinck suggests, were remade in 1608. The only piece of English work at all like any of them that I have discovered is some fruit on an elbow-rest in Sall church, Norfolk, which bears a faint resemblance to the vine-branch.

Four or five misericords inculcate moral lessons, and

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these are particularly interesting. A stag emerging from a forest (plate VIII, no. 4) may be a reminiscence of the chase, but is more likely to be of symbolical import. Such a subject sometimes signifies solitude and poverty of life, and sometimes baptism.[1] Both the stag and the forest are poor and conventional; this carver was at his worst when he attempted animals. Stags or harts very often appear on stalls or on other parts of churches in England; there are two on the back of the early fifteenth-century watching-gallery at St. Albans, and each has a tree behind it, perhaps intended to do duty for a forest. At Cawston, Norfolk, we have a stag with leaves issuing from the top of its head and from its mouth. In addition to these there are many carvings of stags forming heraldic bearings, and also of stag-hunts.

A very curious hybrid (plate IX, no. 1), having the head, arms and body of a man joined to the hind quarters of a hoofed animal, teaches the evil effects of giving way to animal passions. Mediaeval artists were fond of grotesque hybrids, and there are numbers of them on elbow-rests and misericords, and in miniatures in manuscripts. This one looks particularly comical because it is clothed, and its oddity is increased by the quaintness of the weapons it bears, a knife which might have come out of the kitchen, and a very crude shield or buckler. This is the only really funny carving among our misericords, but probably its humour is unconscious. As the human part of the creature wears a cowl we may assume that it belongs to a monk, and somewhat analogous mixtures of monks and animals are to be found on elbow-rests in Norwich cathedral church (plate IX, no. 2), and at Cley in Norfolk. There is also a centaur on a bench-end in Ripon minster, but it is very dignified, quite different in spirit from any of these.

On another misericord an awe-inspiring monster (plate IX, no. 3) is pouring coins from a bag into a large coffer, while a man standing by is apparently making notes about them on a tablet or a piece of parchment. M. Maeterlinck thinks that the monster is a devil, and that perhaps this is an illustration of one of the tales current at this period of men obtaining money from demons and cheating them out of repayment. It might, however, equally well be an ape, as in Flanders the ape was the

[1] Phipson, op. cit. 109.

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symbol of avarice or of a usurer, and the word '*aap*' meant both an ape and a treasure.[1] In either case the moral is the same, the hideousness of avarice.

On the next (plate IX, no. 4) an old man, rosary in hand, is about to enter a church, but a devil is trying to drag him back. It is not so alarming as the monster on the last, but nevertheless, it is sufficiently unpleasant to show that the Bruges carver took devils seriously. English artists, although they gave their demons hoofs, tails, and other attributes which they no doubt thought calculated to strike terror into the beholder, often introduced some humorous touch which makes us suspect that they were slyly laughing in their sleeves.

Another warning to the wicked is conveyed by the spectacle of a nun (plate X, no. 1) being wheeled to Hell in a wheelbarrow, her humiliation increased by the lowliness of her vehicle. Only the feet of the person wheeling her remain, but they are enough to prove that it was a human being and not a devil as we might have expected. In England Hell was generally represented under the form of a monster's wide-open jaws, into which the condemned were thrown, and a good example of it is to be found on a misericord in Ludlow church, where a fraudulent ale-wife is meeting her doom,[2] but the conception of it as a flaming house was not unusual in the Low Countries. Sir William Martin Conway, in his interesting account of the *Woodcutters of the Netherlands*, tells us that the normal Dutch type may be seen in Gerard Leeu's quarto, and the picture of the Alkmaar roof. Here the mouth of Hell is open on one side, and in the background is a building filled with flames, and souls in torments are at the windows.[3]

Four of the Bruges misericords appear to deal with sacred subjects: two, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the conversion of St. Paul, we have already considered; the third (plate X, no. 2), a seated man writing on a long scroll, is possibly one of the evangelists, or a prophet, copied perhaps from a stained-glass window, or from a miniature in a manuscript. Like Abraham, he is clothed, not in the costume of the period, but in a long shapeless robe, which the carver, who seems to have possessed a

[1] Bond, op. cit. 181.

[2] Reproduced in Wright's *Hist. of Caricature*, 140.

[3] *The Woodcutters of the Netherlands*, 65–66, 32.

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NO. I. A CENTAUR: BRUGES.

NO. 2. A HYBRID: NORWICH.

NO. 3. AVARICE: BRUGES.

NO. 4. AT THE CHURCH DOOR: BRUGES.



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NO. 2. A WRITER: BRUGES.

NO. 4. A SEATED LADY: BRUGES.

NO. 1. GOING TO HELL: BRUGES.

NO. 3. THE ANNUNCIATION: BRUGES.

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sense of the fitness of things very unusual in the middle ages, doubtless thought more in keeping with his sacred character. A piece of furniture in the background gives us some idea of a mediaeval bookcase or bureau. Unfortunately time or rough usage has almost obliterated the writer's features, which greatly lessens his dignity.

The fourth (plate x, no. 3), an Annunciation, has also suffered terribly, but the spirit which inspired its maker still lives in it and reveals something of the religious aspirations of the people for whom it was wrought. The Flemings of the fifteenth century, in spite of all their moral laxity, their luxury, their wild pursuit of pleasure, were at heart deeply religious, and the Virgin was the special object of their adoration.[1] Every year a procession, in which the Chapter of Saint-Sauveur took part, wended its way to the Bourg, and made three genuflexions before a statue of the Virgin which stood there.[2] Our artist's conception of the Annunciation is a little out of the ordinary; in pictures the Virgin is almost invariably represented kneeling at a prayer-desk, but here she is sitting reading, and the plainness of her dress and surroundings is remarkable when we remember the splendour with which they are generally depicted.

The most beautiful of all the carvings (plate x, no. 4) has been left to the last because it naturally stands apart from the rest, and seems worthy of special notice. Whether it be intended for a saint, the personification of some Christian virtue, or simply a lady of the period, it is impossible to decide, but we certainly have in this seated figure a most magnificent specimen of womanhood, and, what is most extraordinary, her face is of a pure Greek type, a fact which it is most difficult to explain except on the supposition that it was copied from some classical work of art which the carver had seen.[3] There is very little in her dress to help us to determine her date, but tight sleeves such as she wears, with the addition of cuffs, are to be found in both the late-fifteenth-century manuscripts already quoted.[4]

The impression left by an examination of these carvings may be summed up as follows. We may be fairly certain

[1] Fierens-Gevaert, *Essai sur Bruges*, 115–117; Pirenne, op. cit. ii, 436–437.
[2] *Archives*, v, 334 n.
[3] I am indebted for this suggestion to Sir Henry Howorth.
[4] Harl. MS. 4425 and Roy. MS. 14 E. 5.

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that all the misericords depicting persons, with the exception of the last and the conversion of St. Paul, were executed in the first half of the fifteenth century, probably in the second quarter of it, or at the latest a few years after the middle of the century, since the costume both of the men and women corresponds in the main with that found in pictures and on carvings of this date. St. Paul and the seated lady (plate x, no. 4) may possibly belong to the third or fourth quarter of the century.

The similarity between English and Flemish misericords in choice of subjects and conception seems quite sufficient to prove that there was a similarity in social customs and in thought in England and Flanders, but the workmanship and technique are so different that one cannot believe that they came from the hand of craftsmen of the same nation.

The physiognomy of the people of Bruges in the fifteenth century appears to have been very much what it is now; they were short, sturdy, and vigorous, like the Belgians who are in our midst to-day. Their plain, sensible clothing, free from the fantastic extravagances which we see elsewhere at this time, marks them out as persons of much common sense, with an eye to utility and convenience rather than to beauty and grace. Judging from the subjects represented, their tastes were simple, they had a love of home life, respect for women, and a special tenderness for children. It is surprising to find so few traces of conscious humour, or of skill in depicting animals, as these two qualities were so general in the middle ages, but they had the mediaeval liking for drawing a moral in a very pronounced degree.

These seem the chief characteristics revealed by our misericords. From historical records we do not gain quite the same impression of the Flemings, but this is perhaps largely because there we have more information about the upper than the lower classes, and deal with them rather in a public than in a private capacity, whereas here the conditions are exactly reversed. No doubt our carvers' point of view was somewhat one-sided, but they have given us a true picture of one aspect of Flemish life and character which may serve to supplement what we already know of them from other sources.

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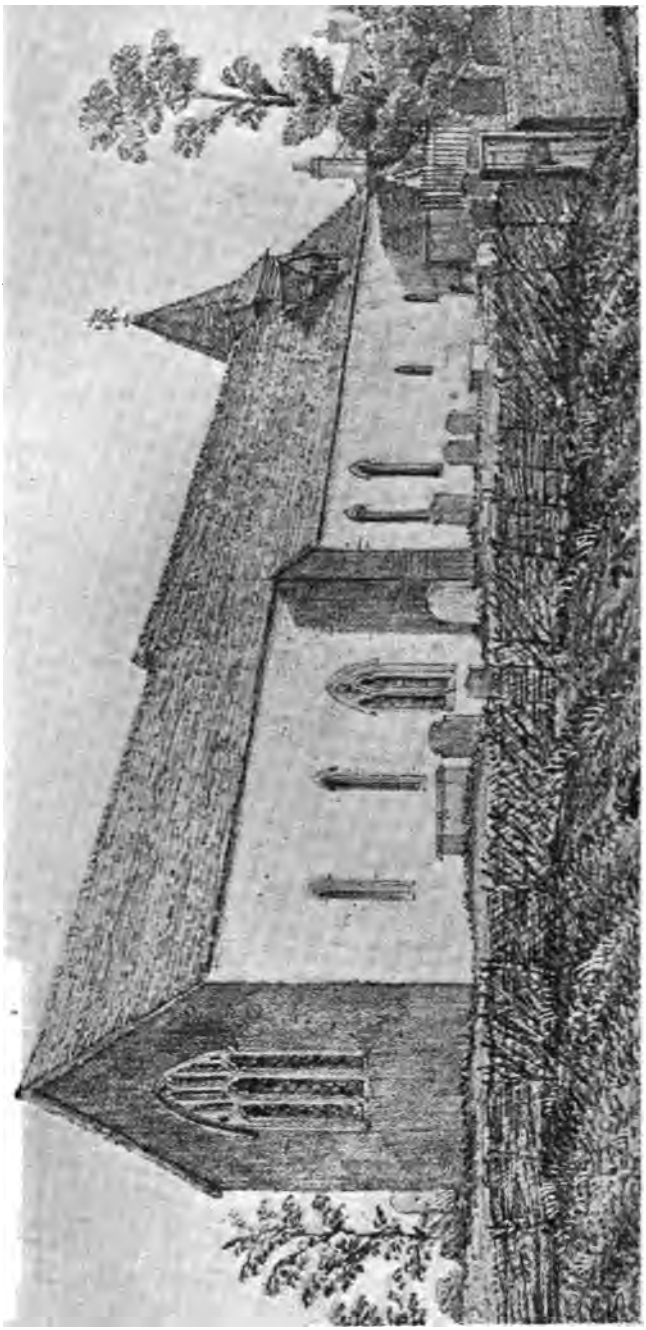

MERTON CHURCH FROM THE NORTH-EAST IN 1824.
From Cracklow's *Churches of Surrey*.

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# MERTON PARISH CHURCH.

By PHILIP MAINWARING JOHNSTON, F.S.A. F.R.I.B.A.

The following notes are based upon a lecture given in the old church of St. Mary, Merton, to the parishioners and others at the request of the vicar, as part of the celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Merton priory, with the fortunes of which the parish church was closely linked for half that long period. Although only some seven or eight miles from London, the place is still wonderfully rural and little known to Londoners.

The name Merton is obviously 'Mere-tun' (the town on the marsh): it is a settlement not only of Saxon, but of Roman, and probably of British and prehistoric antiquity. Roman remains have been met with in the parish, including bricks in the walls of the parish church.

Domesday records the existence of a church in 1086. It was probably of timber, and may even then have been several hundred years old; as in the year 784, when Cynewulf, king of Wessex, was murdered at Merton by Cyneheard the Atheling, a semi-fortified house, with gates, is indicated as the scene of the cruel deed, and this house Cyneheard is said to have defended with his eighty-four followers.[1] There must thus have been a considerable settlement for those times, and therefore, very probably, a Christian church. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Anglo-Saxon word for 'to build' was *getimbrian*. The rank and file of our earlier Saxon churches must have been built by carpenters of the timber that was so plentiful in those days all over England. The raids and burnings by the Danes, and the consequent need for a village sanctuary which should also serve as a place of safety in troublous times, would

[1] In 871 a great battle took place between the Saxons and Danes at Merton.

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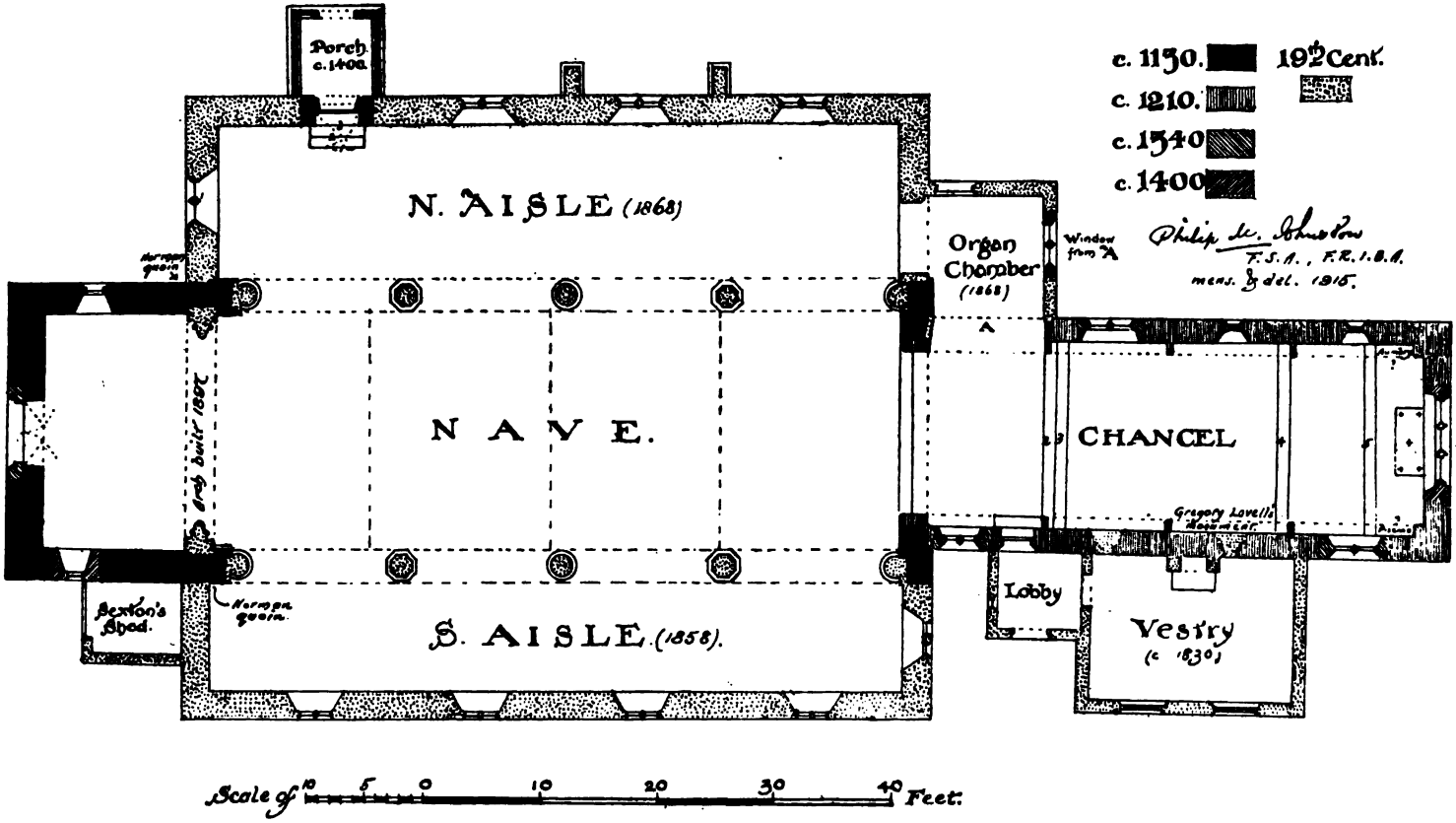


FIG. I. PLAN OF MERTON CHURCH.

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cause these primitive structures to give place gradually to more permanent and less combustible buildings of flint and stone, the materials gathered, where such were close at hand, from the ruined Roman towns and country-side villas. It is not without a practical meaning that the walls of such stone churches as have come down to us from the time before the Norman conquest of 1066 are found to be disproportionately high for the size of the building (as in the case of Stoke d'Abernon, a few miles to the west), for by keeping the eaves of the thatched or oak-shingled roofs at a great height from the ground the risk of incendiary fires would be greatly lessened. It is worth noting also that, although these early stone churches were built without buttresses, and their lofty walls were often only two feet or less in thickness (as in the chancel, Stoke d'Abernon), they have survived in many cases the heavily built but careless work of the Norman period. Their foundations were laid deep, their mortar was as good as that of the Romans, and they selected their stone and other materials with sound judgment. Moreover they built slowly, and allowed time for their work to settle and consolidate. There is evidence that the Normans, like the Germans of to-day, were 'young men in a hurry,' which explains, together with their scamped foundations, the fall and failure of many a tower and wall.

We must, then, in the absence of any structural evidence to the contrary, imagine the first church on this site to have been of wood, perhaps, like the still existing church of Greenstead, Essex—built of split sections of oak-trees, and already a building of some antiquity when the body of St. Edmund the martyred king rested therein on its way to Bury St. Edmunds. Even the first Norman church and buildings of Merton priory are recorded to have been of wood.

It is most likely that this timber parish church remained until after the Norman conquest, and then, in that disturbed period, fell into decay, or was burned. The church indicated by the entry in Domesday, 'Ibi ecclesia,' was probably this same wooden building. This would account for a statement in the Arundel MS. no. 28 (preserved in the College of Heralds), that Gilbert the

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Norman, high sheriff of Surrey, to whom the manor of Merton had been granted by Henry I, in or before the year 1114, 'built a church there at his own cost' (i.e. a *parish* church, on the site, doubtless, of the destroyed Saxon one), 'before which time the inhabitants were obliged to carry their dead to the adjacent villages.' The same manuscript, which was evidently written by some one with first-hand knowledge, if not an actual eye-witness, relates that Gilbert, as lord of the manor, continued to benefit the place, and having, in 1114, founded the priory of Austin Canons, built their church, sumptuously ornamented it with paintings and statues, as was customary, and caused it to be dedicated, with great magnificence, to the honour of the most blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary. William Giffard, bishop of Winchester (1107–1129), came to consecrate it, and was received with great hospitality. On his progress thither he intervened to save a boy, who, for theft, had been condemned to the barbarous punishment of having his eyes put out, foreshadowing by this interposition of mercy that in the church which he was about to consecrate many should be rescued from the darkness of vice, and brought by the power of discipline to the light of justice. In dealing with these old records, it is not easy to keep distinct the parish church, which still remains, and the church of the priory, also founded by Gilbert and levelled to the ground in 1538 by Henry VIII, who used its stones in the building of his palace of Nonsuch, a few miles away. The confusion, which more than one modern writer has fallen into, between the two foundations arises partly from both churches being dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and also from the fact that the *first*, or temporary, buildings of the priory are stated to have occupied a site hard by the parish church.[1] Indeed, it seems not altogether improbable that the nave of the present church represents the parochial building, and that a timber church on the site of the existing thirteenth-century chancel, shut off by an arch and screen from the other, may have served temporarily as the church of the priory. Such a twin-church was not uncommon, and the curiously

[1] It is thought to the east of the churchyard, where now are the school buildings.

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elongated plan of the existing nave and chancel may be owing to such an original disposition.[1] This hypothesis, which has not, I believe, been suggested before, would also account for the fact that not a stone with Norman tooling or moulding is to be traced in the present chancel, which, soon after the beginning of the thirteenth century, would have been built with fresh stonework and flints, on the site occupied by the timber chancel or priory church. Of the latter it is recorded that it remained a timber structure till the year 1130, when on a new site, that is, within the still remaining boundary-walls of the priory, three quarters of a mile to the eastward, the priory church was built anew on a grand scale, and the various buildings of the new work gradually grew up around it, occupying, as can even now be seen, a very large area. In 1236 a parliament was held within the walls of the priory, the famous 'Parliament of Merton.'

So complete was the destruction of the priory buildings wrought by Henry VIII, that, with the exception of the low boundary-walls and a gabled building with a fourteenth-century tracery window, little remained aboveground in the beginning of the nineteenth century. As recently, however, as June, 1914, when a housebreaker was let loose upon a dilapidated house, known as Abbey house, near Merton abbey station, a very beautiful archway of the latest period of Norman work was brought to light, and most fortunately escaped the demolition that seemed inevitable, through the prompt intervention of the Rev. J. E. Jagger, vicar of Merton, Mr. Hadfield, and other public-spirited individuals. Sir Arthur Liberty, to whom this part of the site belongs, promptly ratified the intervention and took further steps to preserve the arch and what was left of the shell of this relic, which I have conjectured[2] to be the hospitium of the priory.

To return to the parish church. Down to the middle of the last century it had preserved unbroken its aisleless plan (fig. 1) consisting simply of a chancel (44 ft. 6 ins. by 14 ft.) and nave (about 73 ft. 6 ins. by 20 ft. 3 ins.).

[1] Lyminster, Sussex, is a curiously similar church as regards the elongated nave and chancel, and here also the eastern arm seems to have been conventual, the western parochial. There was a Benedictine nunnery there from Saxon times (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlvi, 195.)

[2] *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxvii, 138.

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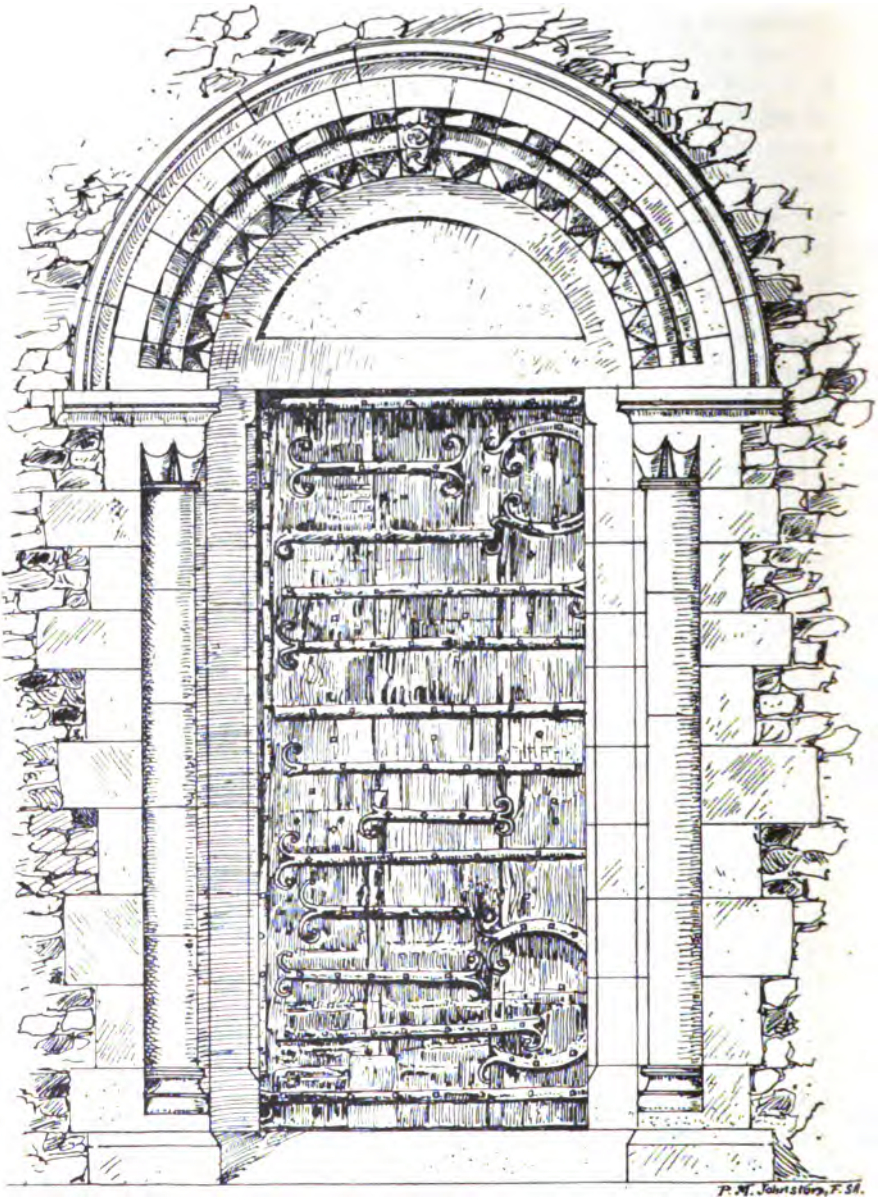

FIG. 2. MERTON CHURCH : NORMAN DOORWAY, WITH COEVAL DOOR (RESTORED).

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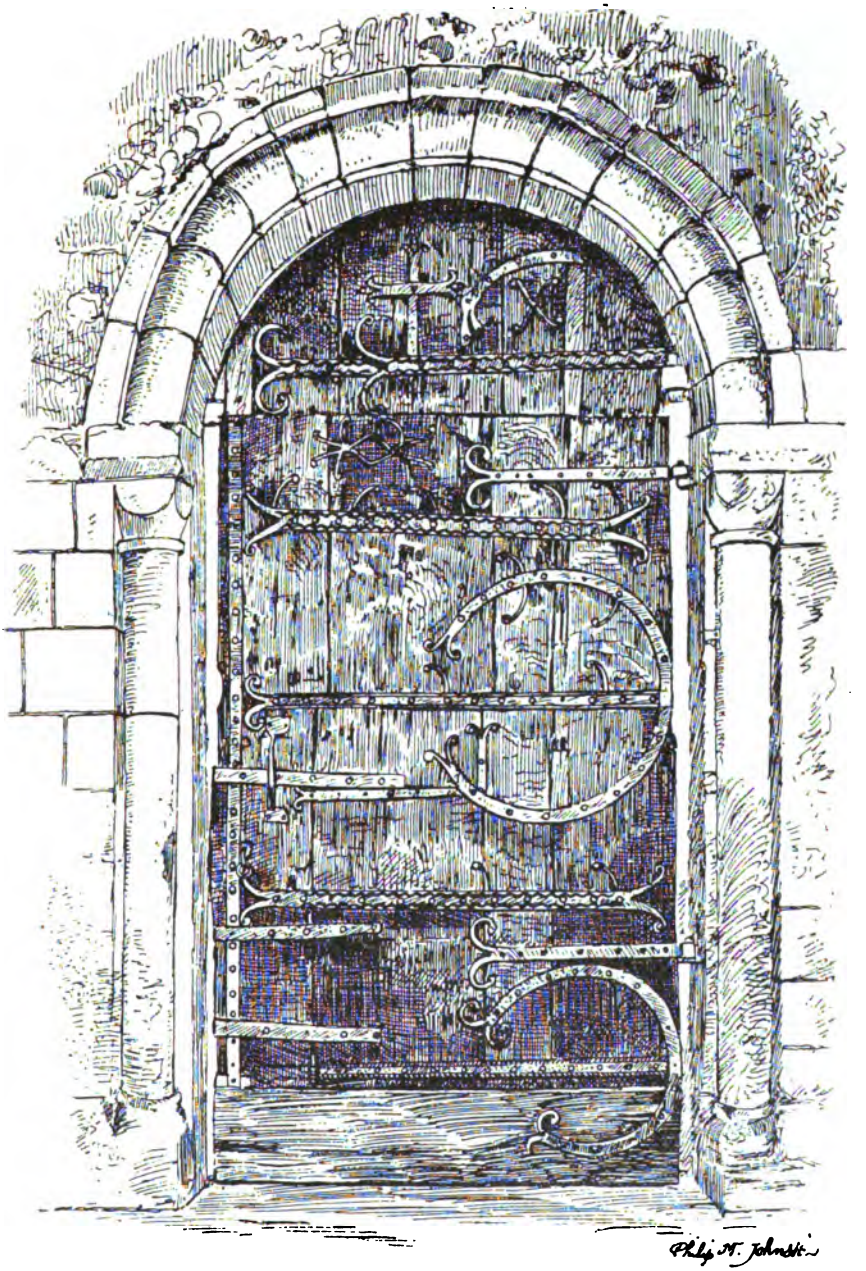

FIG. 3. WOKING CHURCH, SURREY: WEST DOORWAY, WITH COEVAL DOOR.

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It has in a wonderful way retained its ancient and rural characteristics, in spite of the addition of a south aisle in about 1857 and a wider north aisle in 1866. Fortunately these were not carried to the west end of the nave, but stop short of it by about 15 feet, so that the nave west wall and the north and south walls immediately adjoining are actually those of the twelfth-century church. The internal arch and jambs of both the window and doorway in the west wall are of this date, as is also the wide round-headed window in the north wall, the only survivor of four such Norman windows that remained in the nave walls prior to the nineteenth-century enlargements. The eastern quoins of the nave also remain, though entirely concealed by plaster and rough-cast. When the south aisle was added two early-thirteenth-century lancets and two or three fourteenth-century two-light windows in the old south wall were also destroyed (plate II): while on the addition of the corresponding north aisle two thirteenth-century lancets and two Norman windows disappeared. Happily, the interesting Norman north doorway (figs. 2 and 4), though clumsily put together, was rebuilt in the north wall of the new aisle. It retains its circular head, with an early form of double zigzag moulding, its shafts and a modern copy of the plain tympanum in the head, but the shaft-capitals have been put up without their abaci, and there are no bases to the shafts. Moreover, it is evident that the doorway must originally have had two orders to each jamb, where now there is only one, and that the arch could not have overset the jambs as it now does. There was also a label to the arch, of which no trace remains (fig. 2, in which I have restored the stonework). The internal arch, of circular form, and the jambs are ancient, though the wall has lost 6 ins. of its original thickness. The old stonework of the doorway is in the greenish calcareous sandstone, from Gatton, Merstham or Reigate, which was extensively used by the mediaeval builders in Surrey and London. The capitals have the double scallop and rather heavy chamfered neckings; and on the crown of the arch is a mutilated carving of a lion, with its back to the spectator. It has lost its head, but the front paws, and the tail curled across its back, can be distinguished. Hitherto it has been

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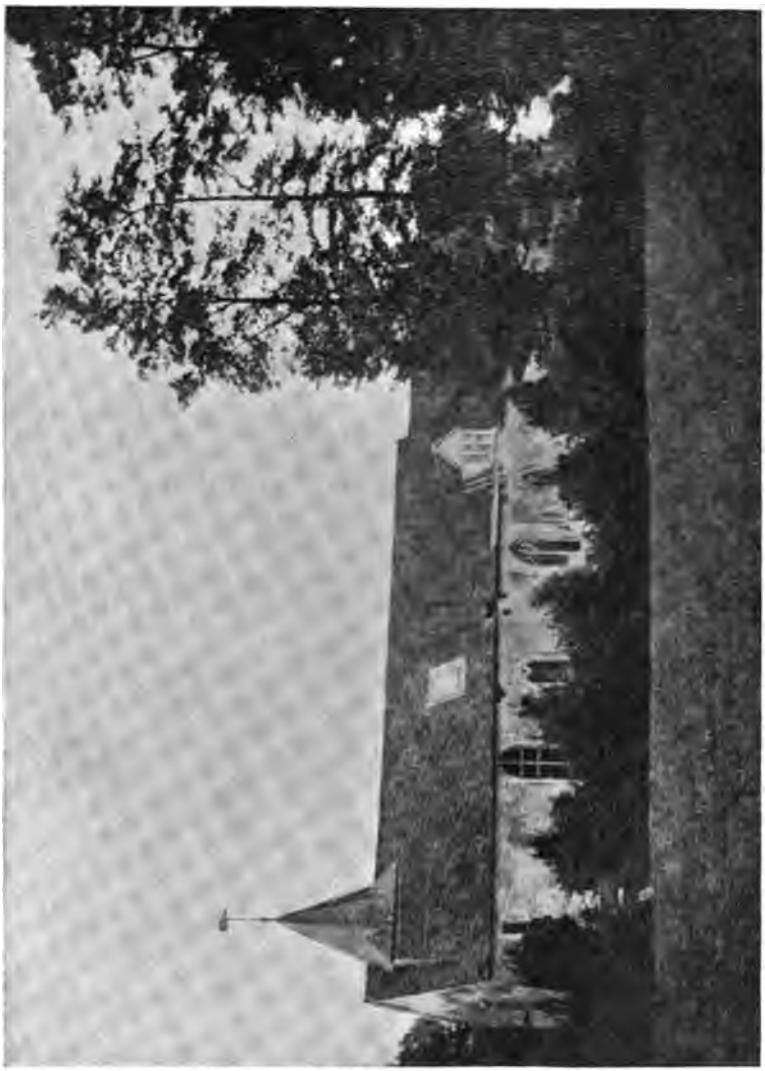

MERTON CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH.
From a photograph taken in 1857.

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supposed to be a mutilated human head, but there is no doubt it is a small lion (fig. 4).

More interesting even than the doorway is the coeval door, which hangs therein, and on which is displayed the original twelfth-century ironwork (fig. 2 and plate III). The door is of heavy oak planks, hewn with an adze, furrowed and seamed with age. It retains part of a plain marginal strip of iron, two C-shaped hinges with scrolled terminals,

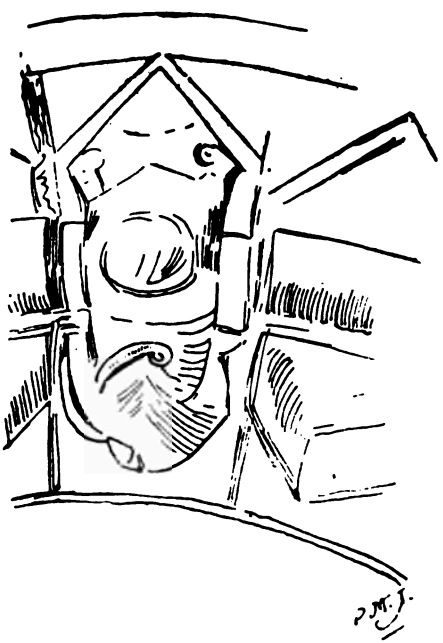

FIG. 4. MERTON CHURCH: MUTILATED LION ON KEYSTONE OF NORMAN DOORWAY.

and twelve horizontal straps, also with scrolled ends of the ram's-horn pattern. The Norman door in Woking church, probably some fifty years earlier (here reproduced for comparison as fig. 3), and that of about 1195 in the tower doorway at Merstham are the only other Surrey examples to compete in interest with this door at Merton; and it is much to be wished that the doorway in which it hangs could be taken down and put together again in such a

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manner as to give back its lost proportions. The substitution of oak for modern deal in the internal backing of the door is also very desirable.

The early-thirteenth-century priests' doorway on the south of the chancel also retains its original oak door with four similar scrolled iron straps, preserved, perhaps, from a still older doorway, and a very perfect latch and drop-ring, possibly coeval. My friend, Mr. G. C. Druce, has kindly photographed this door, which is reproduced in plate IV, no. 2. It is not often that one can point to a latch-spindle as old as the thirteenth century.

The antiquity of the chancel walls is hidden by a thick coat of flint-dashing applied like rough-cast plaster. Some such coating is shown in the old views of the church, such as Cracklow's lithograph of 1824 (plate I). In this way the stone quoins are entirely covered up, and the outer stonework of the east window and most of the other chancel windows have been renewed in Bath stone. The exceptions are a beautiful little two-light window in the south wall of the chancel, western bay, and the larger window of the corresponding bay on the north side, which has been rebuilt in the east wall of the organ-chamber (plate IV, no. 1). Both date from about 1340, and are worked in the Surrey firestone, which has weathered very badly. It is both possible and desirable to indurate the stonework with a chemical process, so that they may still be preserved as interesting relics of the mediaeval building. The window on the north retains its original iron bars, and the quarry-glazing is also ancient. These windows take the place of narrow lancets, which are still found in the two eastern bays on the north side. The peculiarity of these windows, apparent only on the inside, is that they are pierced through a thin wall within an arch. There are in both north and south walls of the chancel four of these pointed arches, blind arches, never intended to be carried through the wall, to open into an aisle, as has been mistakenly supposed, and they are of one simple order with a narrow chamfer, crowned by a double-chamfered label (plate VII) They have no capitals or bases, but the narrow pier (only 6 ins. wide) is continuous, and is chamfered like the arch, all the work

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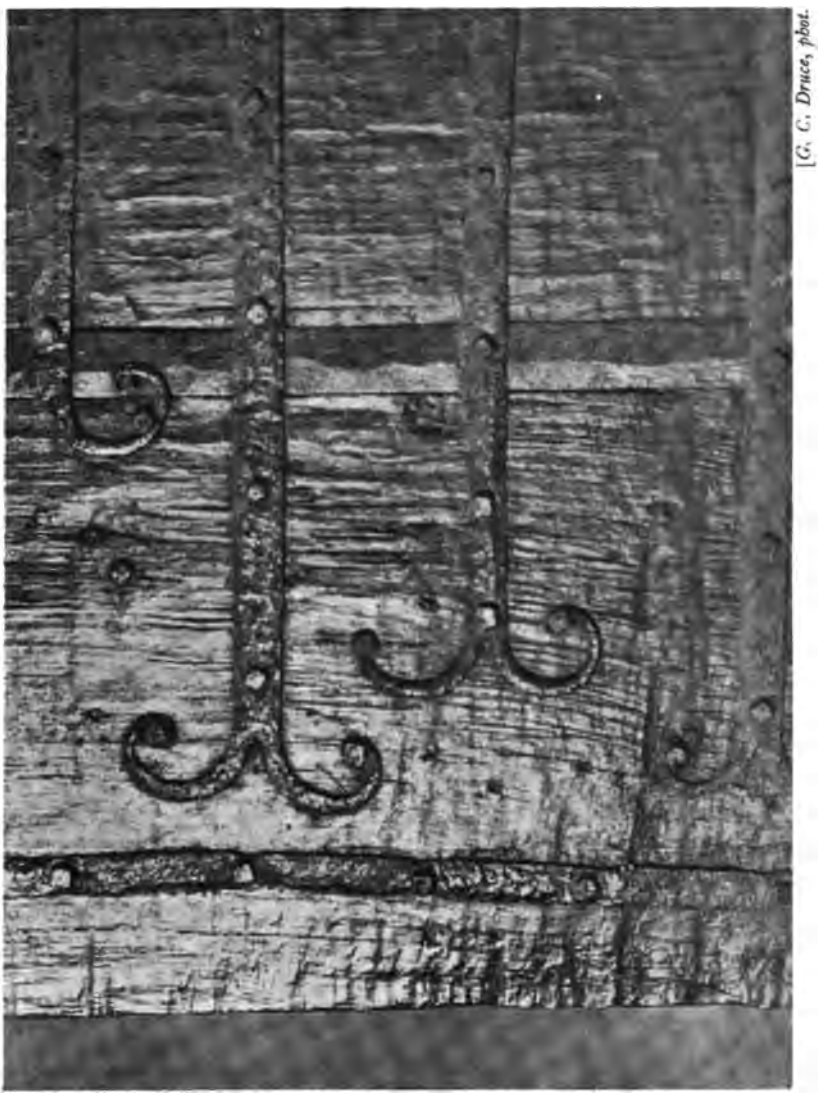

[*G. C. Druce, phot.*

DETAIL OF IRON STRAPS ON LOWER PART OF NORMAN DOOR.

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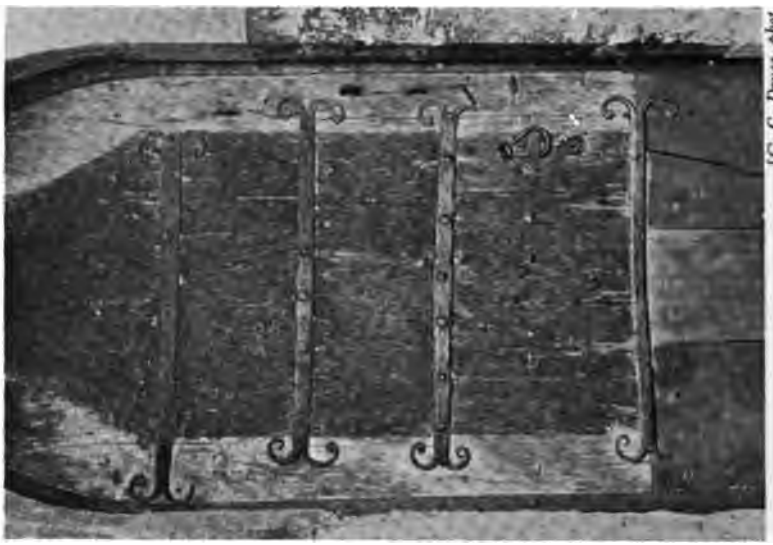

[G. C. Druce, phot.

NO. 2. PRIEST'S DOORWAY, WITH COEVAL DOOR.

NO. 1. EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY WINDOW, NOW IN ORGAN-CHAMBER.

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being in Surrey firestone, which has preserved the broad chisel-tooled surface of the early thirteenth century. Originally each of the four bays on either side had its lancet window (plate I), and an original lancet, shown in a view of about 1800, still survives on the south side, though blocked by some tablets. Its head is visible in the vestry, and it would be a gain to open it out. In the next bay to the eastward the early lancet also remains, but is largely concealed on the inside by the fine monument of Gregory Lovell. Its outer opening remains beneath a modern coat of plaster within the vestry, and the top of an internal opening, blocked, appears above the Lovell monument (plate VII). The easternmost bay on this side is occupied by a restored fourteenth-century window.

The three-light east window, with cinquefoiled heads and super-tracery, under a two-centred arch, is a Perpendicular replacement of about 1400. The outer stonework is a modern restoration on the old lines. Originally there was probably a pair of lancets, with a circular opening over: there is hardly room for a triplet in this exceptionally narrow chancel.

It should be noted before passing on that the lofty blind arcades, like those in the Merton chancel, occur in six other Surrey churches, namely, at Bletchingley, Chaldon, Charlwood, Chertsey, Coulsdon, and Merstham: and, with the exception of Coulsdon (c. 1250) and Chertsey (c. 1350), they are all of early-thirteenth-century date. A group of Kentish churches, that must have been built by the same guild of masons, comprises St. Mary Cray (tower, ground story), Horton Kirby (eastern arm), Dartford (chancel), Brasted, Cliffe-at-Hoo (eastern arm), Rainham (chancel). Newington (chancel), Sittingbourne (chancel), Upchurch (chancel); Hartlip church is a Transition-Norman predecessor; and in all these cases the relieving or blind arches are used both for practical and aesthetic reasons. At Merton they add materially to the space in a very narrow chancel, and this was probably the main reason why they were introduced in the thirteenth-century rebuilding. The walls in which they stand are three feet thick, and, as the recesses are one foot in depth, it follows that the walling of the interspaces is only two feet in thickness. The piscina

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and aumbry in the chancel are unfortunately hidden by the modern dado of alabaster.

Besides its ancient walls, the chancel retains in an almost perfect state one of the most beautiful and ornamental roofs in the south of England, dating between 1380 and 1410.[1] It is in three bays, instead of the four into which the walls are divided, and is of a modified hammer-beam type of construction, very rarely met with, and unique in this county. This roof has a bold boarded cove above the wall-plate, framed into panels by moulded ribs and corbels, and crowned by a battlemented cornice, which intersects with a similar suite

FIG. 5. HEAD IN APEX OF PORCH BARGEBOARD.

of mouldings on the cambered hammer-beams. The upper space in the central area is of open raftered construction, with curved braces forming a pointed arch, and producing a barrel-roof, boarded or plastered till 1866. Within this arch, over each of the four principals, is a beautiful screen of slender pierced tracery, with ogee-shaped and cinquefoiled arches. An architect of no mean skill must have devised such a gem of a roof, and while we may give the credit to the priory, to whom belonged the chancel and who kept it in repair, we may

[1] From this it has been suggested that the roof was brought from the priory, but there seems no reason to believe this.

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FIG. 6. WEST DOORWAY.

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pay a well-merited tribute to the forgotten genius who designed the work.

The chancel arch, of early-thirteenth-century date, is a plain, pointed opening, without capitals or imposts, of two chamfered orders, the outer of which is continuous with the jambs. Norman masonry may perhaps be traced in the lower part of the jambs. Doubtless there were small altars right and left of the arch, or in front of the rood-screen, but no trace remains of them or of the screen.

The roof of the nave, probably of about 1400, is of braced-collar construction with hollow-moulded tie-beams and exceptionally large wall-plates, also hollow-moulded. On the north side this plate is doubled—perhaps to remedy a mistake in setting out. It is at present almost entirely concealed by plaster, and it would be a great improvement if this were removed and the old timbers exposed. The spaces between could then be plastered, or filled with fibrous plaster slabs, and if one or two dormer windows of suitable design were re-introduced in the old positions, as shown in early views, the gain both in appearance and lighting, as well as increased ventilation, would be very great. In this way also the peculiarly hideous skylights that now disfigure the roof could be abolished. It is interesting to note that the fifteenth-century bell-frame and spirelet have survived all the last-century changes,[1] and that one of the four bells is inscribed, ✠ **Sancta Margareta Ora pro Nobis,** with a shield of the royal arms, uncrowned. Another bears the inscription, **BRYAN ELDRIDGE MADE MEE. 1601.**

Another feature of altogether exceptional value and interest is the beautiful open-traceried porch on the north side of the church, dating from the end of the fourteenth century, which was moved to its present position when the north aisle was thrown out in 1866. By the kindness of the vicar I am enabled here to reproduce a photograph of this porch taken in 1857 (plate v). The woodwork was then set upon a clumsy stone and flint plinth, and the corner and doorposts were probably shortened where their ends had decayed, to the great

[1] The spire timbers are modern, but the frame from which they rise is ancient.

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NORTH PORCH OF C. 1390, PRIOR TO ITS REMOVAL TO THE NEW AISLE.
(From a photograph dated 1857 in the possession of the Rev. J. E. Jagger).

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[*G. C. Druce, phot.*

HEADS OF KING AND QUEEN, WEST DOORWAY.

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loss of the original proportions. The doorway is manifestly quite six inches less than its proper height. Unhappily also the beautiful tracery and bargeboard (the latter, especially, very precious for its early date) were coated with dark brown graining, which most certainly ought to be pickled off. The open tracery panels of the front and sides, imitating the stone windows of the period; the doorhead, with four-centred arch, carried up into an ogee with foliage spandrel, and pierced quatrefoils enclosing heater-shaped shields; and the elaborately designed open-tracery bargeboard, are all very excellent.[1] In the triangle formed in the apex of the bargeboards is carved a very life-like head, which may well have been a portrait of the prior of Merton for the time being, or else of the craftsman or donor of the porch (fig. 5). The face seems to be that of an old man, and there is a cowl, or hood, falling back over his shoulders.

The west doorway (fig. 6) and the window over it, as already stated, are of twelfth-century date on the inside, but the outer cases are fourteenth-century replacements, the window being a modern copy and the doorway ancient. The latter has a two-centred head of two orders, with continuous hollow mouldings and a label of coarse section, having for its terminals the heads of a king and queen (plate VI). The king's head,[2] which is bearded, with full eyes, rather wide apart, is worked in the same stone with a length of the arched label. It probably represents Edward III in middle life, that is, in about 1340, the probable date of the outer doorcase. The queen's head has the square metal caul, gilt and jewelled, on either side of the face, in which ladies of the period were wont to enclose their hair. Both heads, though mutilated and weather-worn, sufficiently resemble those of contemporary carved and painted representations of these monarchs—as, for instance, the effigies in Westminster abbey and the paintings formerly in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster. The suggestion that they may be twelfth-century heads of Henry I and his queen is, in my humble opinion, quite impossible, though put forward by so

[1] It is possible that the actual doorhead is a fifteenth-century restoration.

[2] I have somewhat restored the king's head in fig. 6.

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eminent an authority as Bishop Forrest Browne, F.S.A. On the northern jamb is a small votive cross. The panelled door within is of late-seventeenth-century date, and an excellent piece of plain joinery. It is in two leaves, and has an ancient key-escutcheon on the right leaf.

In the circular gable window of the north aisle some fragments of ancient glass are gathered together. These include a shield of the royal arms (lions and fleurs-de-lys) and another of Gilbert the Norman—afterwards adopted as the arms of his priory—gold, at the crossings of a fret azure, eagles silver. There is also a pretty piece of white drapery—the knee of a seated figure of some size, probably of the fourteenth century, as are the shields. In the quatrefoil of the south-east window of the chancel is a beautiful head of our Lord, in white glass, with silver stain, producing a gold tint, and very finely painted. It has the usual cruciferous nimbus. Of the modern stained glass which fills nearly every window of the church, there is good, bad and indifferent work, and the same description may be applied to the fittings, which, including the font, all date from the last half century or so. Unfortunately, the modern aisle roofs, with their skinny stained deal timbers, almost amount to a disfigurement.

An eighteenth-century west gallery was removed in 1897 and a stone arch built across the belfry-space, partly with a view of providing a more stable seating for the bell-frame. Apart from this object its insertion is to be regretted, as confusing the plan of the church. The spire is recorded to have been re-shingled in 1791, and again in about 1856.

Of the ancient monuments, the oldest is a stone coffin-slab in the churchyard, bearing a floreated cross of fourteenth-century date. The next is the singularly beautiful monument in alabaster, marbles and freestone —one of the best of its period in Surrey—of Gregory Lovell, who died in 1597 (plate VII). Within two circular-arched alcoves are the painted kneeling figures of Gregory and his two wives facing each other. At each angle is a marble shaft with Corinthian capital, supporting a frieze and entablature, above which are three armorial shields in scrolled frames. In the plinth are two groups, also facing each other, representing the progeny by the two wives—

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*To face page 341.*

[*G. C. Druce, phot.*

MERTON CHURCH: GREGORY LOVELL'S MONUMENT, WITH WALL-ARCADE AND BLOCKED WINDOW OF C. 1210.

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one son and three daughters on the left, and five sons on the right. Beneath is an elaborately fluted moulding, surmounting the inscription: 'Here lieth Gregory Lovell, of Merton abbey Esquyre Cofferer of Her Majesties Houshold, second son to S^r^ Frances Lovell of Harlinge Norff^e^. He had two wyves Joane daughter of . . . Whithead by whome he had issue Thomas Mildred Elizabethe and Frances . . . and Dorothye daughter of Michaell Greene by whom he had issue S^r^ Robert Lovell Henry Thomas William and Gregory. He lived to the age of threescore and XV. and dyed the XV. of Marche in the yeare of our Lorde 1597.'

It was to this Gregory Lovell that queen Elizabeth, in 1586–1587, granted a twenty-one years' lease of Merton priory, 'all that house and scite of the late priory of Merton (alias) Marten, alias Marton), in the county of Surrey, there dissolved; and all houses, edifices, barns, stables, dovecotes, garden-grounds, orchards, gardens, mills, land and soil within the scite and precinct of the said late dissolved priory. . . .'

In the chancel floor, now at the western end, but formerly within the communion rails, are two handsome black marble slabs bearing shields of arms and heraldic mantlings in low relief. They are inscribed to Sir Henry Stapleton, bart. who died in 1679, and to his daughter, the wife of Thomas Robinson, who died in 1676. The church also contains monuments of eighteenth and early nineteenth century dates, amongst which may be named the finely carved medallions erected by 'Mrs. Elizabeth Cook, wife of Captain James Cook the circumnavigator,' to commemorate Admiral Isaac Smith and Isaac Craig Smith. Beneath the second is the figure of his beautiful wife, sister of R. J. Wyatt, the sculptor, who was the author of the work. A quaint and unusual feature is the row of hatchments suspended over the columns of the nave arcades, among them being that of the great lord Nelson, who, with the fair and frail Emma, worshipped within these walls. The seat he is said to have occupied is preserved as a bench in the vestry.

In the large and beautifully tended churchyard are some old and quaint stones. On the north side is the Rutlish table-tomb. William Rutlish, a native of Merton,

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'imbroiderer to king Charles the second,' who died in 1687, left houses in the parish 'to the value of 400*l.* for the putting out poor children born in this parish apprentices.' The modern Rutlish school has been erected and endowed out of the greatly increased funds.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge much kind help supplied by the vicar of Merton, the Rev. J. E. Jagger, and by my friend, Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A. whose admirable photographs accompany this paper.

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# IRISH CATHEDRAL CHURCHES.[1]

By IAN C. HANNAH, M.A.

The ancient cathedrals of Ireland seem hardly to have attracted from antiquaries the attention which is certainly their due. In architectural splendour doubtless they are surpassed by the cathedrals of England, even by those of Scotland and Wales, but still they have a very distinct national character of their own, and much of the story of Ireland is written in their stones.

Variety is their prevailing note. In this they are altogether unsurpassed. St. Patrick's, Dublin, is not unworthy to rank among the mediaeval cathedrals of England, being a little larger than Carlisle,[2] while Aghadoe might almost put in a claim to be the smallest church in the land. The others in size are graded all the way between. Glendalough and Ardmore are good specimens of the ancient architecture of Ireland before the Anglo-Normans came: at Derry the cathedral is in some respects one of the best examples we possess of the Gothic of the Jacobean age. The work of no intermediate period is altogether undisplayed by the other cathedrals of the island: they are mostly of the thirteenth century.

So far, indeed, does diversity extend that Ireland cannot be said to possess a cathedral type as do England and France. Her mother churches are of almost every conceivable form, allowing no possibility of generalisation. Not one possesses the triple-tower plan that is the usual arrangement for important cathedrals in England. Only the two in Dublin are adorned with triforia, vaulted clerestories and chapels east of the quires, though these are features that emphatically belong to the cathedral type wherever Gothic architecture is known. Cashel, whose ground plan is extraordinary, is the only one which

[1] Read before the Institute, 1st December, 1915. The line drawings are all by Edith Brand Hannah.

[2] Considerably larger than the original Norman church, larger than the cathedral that stands to-day; but when the nave was still intact and the fourteenth-century quire was completed the Cumbrian church was probably larger than the Irish. St. Patrick's is just a little bigger than Ripon minster, which became a cathedral on the restoration of the see in 1836.

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possesses a second steeple, save that in many cases a detached round tower stands by.

Nor is the position of the cathedral a fixed thing in the cities of Ireland. On hill-tops at Kilkenny and Armagh an English close is reproduced to a certain extent; at Cashel the cathedral stands apart on its glorious rock, like the Parthenon crowning the Acropolis with the streets spread out below. The precincts of the two cathedrals in Dublin are pressed close by the houses of the city, but no Irish bishop's church stands beside the market-place like so many cathedrals on the continent and so many parish churches in England. In most cases there is a very ordinary churchyard, for most of the bishops' sees, which were very numerous, were placed in villages or small country towns. In Scotland Celtic influence was strangely shown by the fact that practically every cathedral was situated in a village or a little town. Hardly one of the chief places in mediaeval Scotland, not even Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, Dunfermline, Berwick and Inverness, possessed a cathedral church. In Ireland, although in other ways the influence of the Celts was still stronger, there was a cathedral in every town of any importance with a few exceptions, such as Galway and Drogheda.

A few of the Irish cathedrals were the churches of regular canons or monks; most of them, however, have always been served by secular chapters, and this though in some cases, as at Clonmacnoise and Kildare, they were surrounded by the dwellings of regulars. Both in size and in beauty the cathedrals must have been fully equalled by several of the monastic churches that contained no bishops' chairs, but this was likewise the case both in England and Scotland and other parts of Europe as well. On the whole the Irish cathedrals have suffered worse from the excessive zeal of the restorer than the English ones, though perhaps hardly so badly as the French. Many of the most important have been almost entirely rebuilt, but this was a necessity from the neglect of ages past.

In describing these most interesting churches it will be best to take them roughly in chronological order, as suggested by the most prominent existing features.

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To avoid confusion, however, each church will be treated as a whole, and later additions to the fabric will be mentioned in connexion with its earlier features, instead of being placed in a chronological order of their own.

The ancient Celtic church, possessing so many features borrowed from the east, did not greatly emphasise the distinction between cathedrals and other places of worship, either in ritual or architecture. Of the ancient Irish words for church none is used exclusively for a cathedral. 'Daimhliag' is simply a great church built of stone; it seems never to be used in any technical sense, and it appears to have depended entirely on the speaker whether any particular church was described by the expression or not.

Four existing cathedrals, three roofless ruins, and the fourth not used, were already in existence before the Anglo-Normans came.

## ARDMORE.

The chancel of Ardmore is an excellent specimen of the Cyclopean masonry with large shapeless blocks and widish joints that is one of the distinctive architectural features brought to Ireland from the Levant (fig. 1). It is of early character, and may be of any period from the seventh century to the eleventh. All the details that survive are later. In the churchyard is the little cell of St. Declan, founder of the church, a chamber of similar Cyclopean masonry, 13 ft. 4 ins. by 8 ft. 9 ins. the walls 2 ft. 5 ins. thick, with antae at either end. This tiny sanctuary has an older look than the cathedral, and may *possibly* date back to the days of St. Declan himself and belong to the fifth century. We have really no means of dating these ancient buildings of Ireland except in the most general way[1]; till recently the tendency has been to assign their erection to periods most improbably early.

Shortly after the Anglo-Welsh invasion of Ireland, or possibly before, there was added a Norman nave, a small plain structure with two splayed windows on either side: both inside and out a string runs along at the level

[1] One or two only can be dated by means of documents.

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FIG. 1. ARDMORE : CATHEDRAL AND ROUND TOWER.

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of the arch-springs; it bends round the window-heads, and also bends needlessly half-way between as if for windows that never were built. This nave has a later western bay, only a little more recent than the rest, but the masonry is very clearly to be distinguished, the stones being smaller, the joints equally wide, the string-course discontinued. The west wall is pierced only by a narrow window in the gable; this is splayed within and its shafts have rough leaf capitals. The space below on the exterior is covered with very remarkable ornament, which is obviously not in its original position. It consists of two very wide round arches and an arcade of thirteen niches above. These openings are largely filled in with the rudest of bas-reliefs, representing both animals and men. Among them are Adam and Eve, the judgment of Solomon, the Virgin and Child, and the conversion of an Irish chief who bows before the Christian missionary while still holding his spear. The work shows on the whole a lamentable falling off from the really excellent details of earlier Celtic crosses, to say nothing of the superb ornament of the world-known book of Kells.

The chancel arch is an insertion of the fourteenth century with round responds and capitals displaying simple leaves. On the south side may still be seen a little bit of the cushion capital of the original Romanesque opening. In the modern church, which stands on another site lower down the hill, is the old font, a late piece of work, not earlier than 1500. Both bowl and base are octagonal, and the former has flat arches with nothing but pendants to spring from. Each side has an incised panel with foliage in low relief.

Close by the old cathedral on the south side and on slightly higher ground there rises nearly a hundred feet into the air one of the latest of the famous round towers that still exist, apparently the work of the twelfth century.[1] The masonry is excellent ashlar, kept in regular courses, in place of the neat rubble characteristic of the work of earlier days. Thrice the structure is banded, and above each string the diameter is slightly reduced, this

[1] Round towers were still built for years after the Anglo-Norman conquest. The *Four Masters* record the erection of one at Annaghdown, on the borders of Lough Corrib, as late as 1238.

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being distinct from the battering of the walls. The conical cap is entire, and just below are the usual four windows provided to command the view; their sides are inclined and their triangular heads are simply pierced through the masonry without the ordinary sloping stones. The smaller windows lower down are square-headed or round with single stone lintels. On the north-east side (as usual facing the churches of the house and placed some feet above the ground) is pierced a door with round arch and sloping jambs. The tall round tower and the little roofless church (fig. 1), looking over the village at the foot of the hillside to the rippling waters of the bay, form a delightful group, though it seems strange that we must give the designation of cathedral to what in any other land would be small for a village church.

## GLENDALOUGH.

At Glendalough the cathedral is merely one of a considerable number of little churches[1] whose charm is vastly heightened by the delightful scenery of the valley in which they are built. The twin lakes, from which the place is named, shut out from the world by the wooded hillsides, form an ideal setting for the ancient ruins, which owe quite as much to their sites as do Fountains and Rievaulx themselves.

The nave of the cathedral is a very fine specimen of ancient Irish work, remarkable for the massiveness of its construction.[2] Though its dimensions are but 48½ by 30 feet, the walls are no less than 3½ feet in thickness; their lower portions with the antae and the western door

[1] They are called the seven churches, but in the chief enclosure there are but four (the cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, the tempul Chaimhghin or St. Kevin's kitchen, a tiny unnamed chapel close to it, and the so-called priest's house). The precincts also contain a large rubble round tower, whose upper square-headed windows are arranged to command the vales of Glendalough and Glendasan from a height of over 100 feet; they are entered by a remarkable gateway whose arches almost suggest the work of imperial Rome. Close by, a little higher up, is the tempul Muire or church of our Lady. Still above, on the shores of the lakes, are Reefert church and the Tempul-na-skellig or chapel of the rock. Lower down are two more churches, St. Saviour's on the bank of the stream and Trinity on the slope of the hill. Thus there are nine in all, in ruin every one.

[2] The excellent preservation of the churches at Glendalough is very remarkable in view of the deplorable condition of the place throughout the later middle ages. In the archives of Christchurch, Dublin, is the original *Litera Palliorum missorum in Hiberniam*. In 1214 'Dominus Johannes Papiron, legatus,' found a bishop in Dublin and also a rural bishop among the mountains, and arranged for the union of their sees.

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are built of large ashlar blocks of the local mica-slate, no pains having been taken to place these with horizontal bedding. On the south side are two original windows, both round-headed, one with a rubble arch, the head of the other cut in a single stone. The west door has a projecting lintel, and over it is a relieving arch. There are holes for hinges and for a wooden bar. The height is 7 ft. 4 ins. and the jambs as usual slope together, the

FIG. 2. GLENDALOUGH CATHEDRAL CHURCH : CHANCEL ARCH.

width being 3 ft. 11 ins. at bottom and just 5 ins. less at the top.

On the plain ashlar jambs at the east end a later Romanesque arch[1] with zigzag has been raised (fig. 2);

'Praeterea illa sancta ecclesia, quae est in montibus, licet in magna reverentia haberetur ab antiquis propter sanctum Keywinum, qui ibi duxit vitam eremeticam; nunc tamen ita deserta est et desolata per quadraginta fere annos, quod de ecclesia facta est spelunca latronum, fovea furum; ita quod plura omicidia committuntur in illa valle quam in alio loco Hiberniae propter desertum et vastam solitudinem.'

[1] In a letter to Lord Dunraven during 1864 Dr. Petrie attributes the cathedral quire, the priest's house and St. Saviour's to St. Laurence O'Toole (abbot of Glendalough, 1157–1161) on the strength of a passage in cap. ix of Messingham's *Florilegium* to the effect that he spent certain funds 'pauperibus nutriendis et ecclesiis aedificandis': Champneys, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 117. The cathedral east window, with some carved work of unusual character (which has perished), is engraved in E. Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1790: plate ii, facing p. 39.

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its middle part is broken down. The Norman quire (25 by 22 feet) is probably a little larger than the original one. It is perfectly plain, with the familiar splayed windows, a long aumbry rebated for shutter and a round piscina drain. A lintelled doorway on the south opens to a little chapel. In the north wall of the nave a Romanesque door is also inserted; it has three shafts on each side without, and another in the inner edge. The general character and mouldings of the Norman parts exactly suit the date 1160.

## CLONMACNOISE.

While the churches of Glendalough, like so many English abbeys, owe much of their fascination to the unexcelled beauty of their sites, those of Clonmacnoise seem to be in surroundings not less appropriate and certainly far more individual amid the desolate wastes of the Irish bogs by the broad and winding Shannon, the treeless dreariness relieved only by a few old ashes almost destitute of leaves. Here also the cathedral is one of numerous chapels in a group, all in ruin except the tempul Conor, still in use. There appears to be no good reason for doubting that the walls of the existing cathedral are those referred to by the *Four Masters* under date 924: 'Colman, son of Ailill, abbot of Cluain-Iraird and Cluain-mic-nois, a bishop and wise doctor, died. It was by him the daimhliag of Cluain-mic-nois was built.' In fact it would seem to be the earliest of Irish churches to which anything like an exact date can be assigned. The only original features, however, are the antae or continuations of the side walls that form buttresses to the east and west fronts. In 1104 the *Four Masters* mention the completion of the shingling of the roof, and they give us the very long names of those by whom the work was done. The shingles presumably were deemed an immense improvement on the primaeval thatch.

How the rudeness of the actual building was as usual compensated by the splendid and costly ornaments of

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the interior is interestingly set forth in a further entry of 1129:

> The altar of the great church of Cluain-mic-nois was robbed, and jewels were carried off from thence, namely the carracan (model) of Solomon's temple, which had been presented by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall . . .; and the three jewels which Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair had presented, i.e. a silver cup with a gold cross over it, and a drinking horn with gold; the drinking cup of Ua Riada, king of Aradh; a silver chalice, with a burnishing of gold upon it, with an engraving by the daughter of Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair; and the silver cup of Ceallach, successor of Patrick.

The altars of the ancient Irish church were usually of wood, as is still the case in the eastern church. By constitutions and canons made by archbishop John Comyn at a provincial synod at Dublin in 1186,[1] wooden altars according to the usage of Ireland are forbidden; at the least a slab of stone must be inlaid. There is on the whole a marked absence of any remains of stone altars in ancient Irish churches, though some do exist, for example in the little unnamed church close by St. Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough (p. 348). They are perhaps of post-conquest date.

Though never enlarged (except by the erection of a tunnel-vaulted vestry on the south with chamber above, whose octagonal chimney with its domed top is still a conspicuous feature of the ruins), the cathedral at Clonmacnoise was considerably enriched in later days. An ornate Romanesque doorway in five orders, now much broken about, pierces the western wall. The outer order projects, and has remarkable octagonal shafts with damaged scallop caps.

In the middle of the fifteenth century a large north door was pierced with rather ornate mouldings, showing a cable pattern, and round the outer order foliage with interlacing twigs, a dragon on either side. There are figures of SS. Patrick, Francis and Dominic, and the inscription: 'Doms Odo Decanus Cluanni fieri fecit.' A register preserved at Armagh says that Odo, pretended dean of Clonmacnoise, was in 1460 deprived by the primate,[2] but in recording his death in the next year the *Four Masters* tell us that Odo was 'the most learned man

[1] The record is among the archives of Christchurch.

[2] Champneys, p. 185.

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in all Ireland.' It was apparently as part of the same improvement that the east end was altered by the odd insertion of a vaulted roof opening by three arches and two bays deep. There remain the very plain semi-octagonal responds. These rather clumsily break into a sedile niche with red stone shafts and just pointed arch, work probably of about a century before. Above the vault, within the original limits of the church, was constructed a chamber connected with that over the transept vestry.[1]

The large and late round tower (O'Rourke's) that dominates the ruins at Clonmacnoise is interesting from the fact that its present condition can be exactly explained from documents. The lower part of good sandstone ashlar, with round arched doorway, was finished in 1124; the upper part, of rough limestone rubble, with eight rude square-headed top windows only a little over fifty feet from the ground, dates from a restoration after the tower was struck by lightning in 1135.[2]

## KILLALOE.

At Killaloe, close to where the Shannon issues from Lough Derg, we may see the ancient architecture of Ireland gradually becoming less rude and adopting Romanesque details while still preserving the essential features of such buildings as St. Columba's house at Kells and St. Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough. In the yard of Killaloe cathedral still stands a little chapel, which was probably the bishop's church, with double roof of stone[3] (fig. 3). The inner roof is a plain tunnel-vault,

[1] Dwelling-rooms forming part of a church are frequently to be met with in Ireland, *Archaeol. Journ.* lxv, 49. A plan of the churches at Clonmacnoise is given on page 109 of this volume.

[2] These dates are from the *Four Masters*. Each is given by the *Chronicum Scotorum* four years earlier.

[3] Dr. Petrie (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, comprising an essay on The Round Towers*, 1845, p. 276) originally assigned its building to St. Flannan, who became bishop in 639; but in later life he came to doubt the very early dates he had given to most of the old Irish monuments. It appears to me that the earliest possible date is that of the famous Brian Boru, whose palace at Kincora was close by, and who is recorded in a history (*War of the Gael with the Gaill*, edited from the *Book of Leinster*, copied c. 1150) quoted by Dr. Hyde (*Literary History of Ireland*, 1899, pp. 439, 443) to have built churches at Killaloe and Inniscaltra, and a round tower at Tomgraney in the early years of the eleventh century. More probably, as Champneys suggests, the chapel was built much later in the same century.

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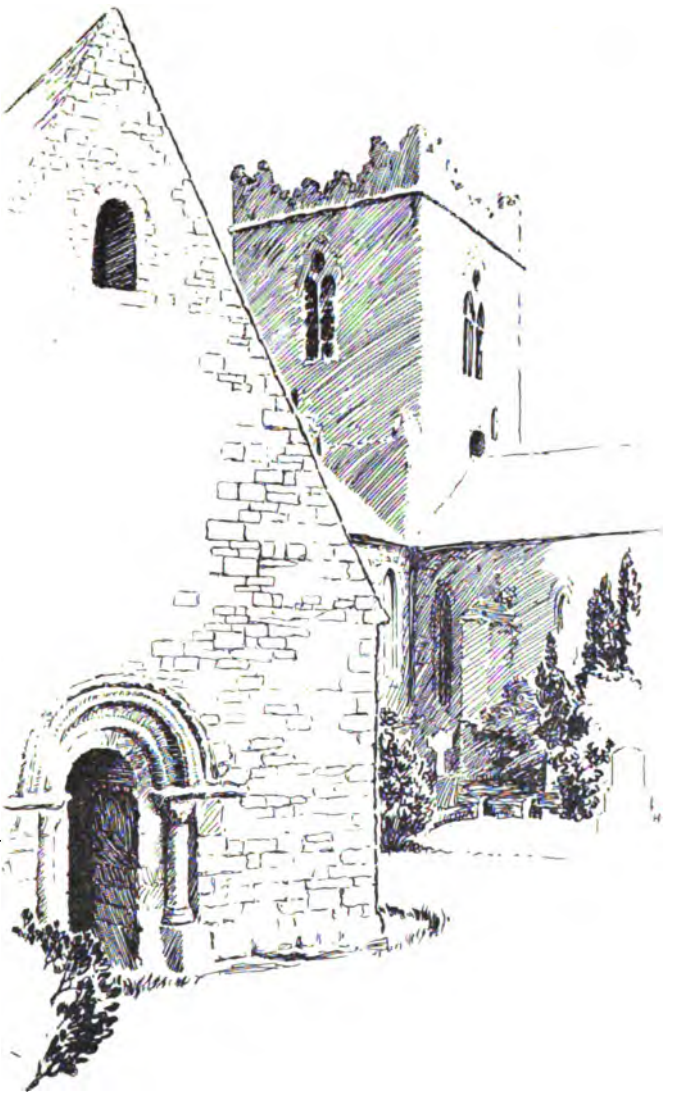

FIG. 3. KILLALOE: CHAPEL AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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the outer one is of solid stone-work and extremely steep, its straight sides of ashlar very well smoothed, though not in quite regular courses; along the eaves each side is a projection just sufficient to throw the water off the walls. These, as is fitting from the great weight they have to bear, are exceedingly massive, 3 ft. 8 ins. thick, though the internal dimensions are but 29 ft. 4 ins. by 18 ft. The facing stones are squared and smoothed, though not very regularly laid, but there is hardly a suggestion of the rudeness of the ancient Irish walls of rubble or Cyclopean stones. The west and only doorway has a plain round arch with chamfered abacus; an outer order is formed by ordinary 'Norman' mouldings, the drip-stone having billet; there are rather large shafts, the northern having rude Ionic volutes, the southern two animals with a common head. The chancel arch with plain chamfered abaci is nearly seven feet wide, but, though the rest of the structure is in very good repair, the chancel has completely vanished. The lower chapel is dimly lit by a triangular-headed opening on either side; the upper chamber, only to be gained by a ladder, has a similar window looking east and a round-arched opening facing west. The sloping jambs of these upper openings are very pronounced.

### CASHEL: CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

A great advance in every way is marked by the famous chapel of Cormac on the rock of Cashel, which was consecrated in 1135 (fig. 11). Except in dimensions, indeed, it has much of the character of a real cathedral. The extremely simple plan, nave, chancel and square-ended altar recess, is admirably relieved by the transept towers. The very lofty and extremely steep-pitched roofs of well smoothed limestone are most effective features, while the outline is admirably varied by the fact that the towers are not both alike, either in height or in design. The northern one is lower than the south and less enriched by arcading; it is capped by a pyramidal roof entirely of stone. The southern tower is divided by stringcourses into no less than eight little stages, and

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it has a flat roof of flagstones. It contains a newel stair to the chambers between the roofs, while the other tower is open to the top.[1]

The tunnel-roof of the nave is sustained by heavy arches springing from closely-set responds; the chancel has a ribbed quadripartite vault. The Hiberno-Romanesque details, both within and without, are of the most beautiful and ornate description.[2] At the east end of the chamber over the nave are three arches, rather reminding one of the entrance to a chapter-house: through the middle one, down some steps, is the approach to the room over the chancel. The upper part of the former chamber was divided by a floor (as is so often the case in Scottish castles) and the loft had its windows unsplayed, east and west. The outer roofs are sustained by very sharply pointed arches of tufa; the whole workmanship is surprisingly good and the water does not seem ever to have soaked through. Very considerable engineering skill is displayed in the construction of the building, more than in contemporary structures elsewhere, despite the smallness of the scale.

No church in the world of the same dimensions, perhaps, is more beautiful than this most striking little chapel. It displays the native architecture developing in such a hopeful direction that one cannot help feeling the profoundest regret that the conquest should so abruptly have destroyed it. If let alone the Irish might have developed a style entirely their own, not merely a national variety of mediaeval Gothic, but a mode of construction as different from it on one side as Byzantine work on the other. It is certainly strange that, while adopting so many features of their delightful detail from the east, they never borrowed its most distinguishing feature, the dome, as the central object of a church. The form had been familiar for untold generations in the sepulchral chambers of their tumuli (such as New Grange),

[1] In classic and renaissance architecture, with their ideals of perfect symmetry, it is natural and perhaps inevitable that when twin steeples are employed they should be of identical design. Gothic with its greater latitude can allow itself more freedom in this respect, and where as at Lisieux, the twin towers differ widely in design, the effect is incomparably more beautiful than where, as at Notre-Dame, they are both exactly alike.

[2] They have been fully described by Dr. Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 283–302. Cormac's chapel is illustrated and partly described in *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. iii, 180–182, and pp. 93–97 of this volume.

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though built on the principle of the corbel instead of the arch.

### AGHADOE.

On a hill that overlooks to the southward the beautiful mountains and lakes of Killarney, at Aghadoe (the field of the two yews), is a most interesting little roofless church; it bore the name of cathedral, and, though built in Anglo-Norman days, preserved the spirit of the Celt, being close to an old round tower.[1] The original founder was St. Finian the leper, but, although a far higher antiquity has usually been claimed for it, there seems to be no doubt that in the ruined nave we have the structure whose erection in 1158 by Auliffe Mor O'Donoghue is mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen. It is a structure of the usual form of Irish Romanesque; the walls are rubble, though formed of largish stones; they are pierced by small windows, splayed, and in one case (on the north) a deep line surrounds the little monolithic arch. The only remarkable feature is the ornate western door, which is shafted and furnished with rather elaborate mouldings. The shafts have zigzag lines with pellets, and the inner order on each side is dented with ornaments adapted from Irish step-battlements (fig. 4), a method of working details of which the Irish were always rather fond. The arch over the battlement moulding has zigzag, that over the shafts has lines and balls; still further out, over the projecting pilasters, is an arch built up of fragments, balls and zigzag prominent among them.

From the Annals of Innisfallen we likewise learn that in 1234 the great church of St. Canice at Aghadoe was raised by the successor of St. Kieran of Saigher. This structure forms a sort of chancel to the same church (fig. 7), but instead of piercing a suitable opening through the eastern wall, the builders provided a rough rubble-

[1] About fifty feet to the north-west of the cathedral is the lower part of a more ancient round tower, now scarcely two fathoms high. It is built of wide jointed rubble with some squared stones and an approach to Cyclopean masonry here and there.

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arched doorway in its northern part, completely destroying one of the two original windows and taking away the splay from one side of the other. The new chancel is extremely plain; its east wall is pierced by two splayed lancets with a round relieving arch above.

The possession of cathedral status by such minute chapels as those of which we have been speaking is characteristically Irish, a legacy from earliest days. It is almost unique in western Europe, for even the two Icelandic cathedrals at Holar and Skalholt, though built of timber, were of far more ample size, and the only parallel

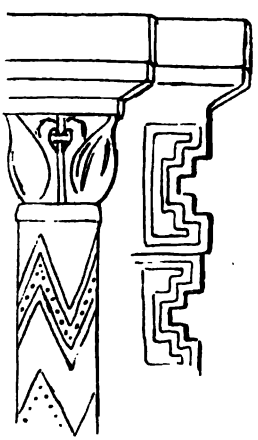

FIG. 4. AGHADOE: DETAILS OF WEST DOOR.

known to the writer is the old cathedral for the diocese of Argyll on the island of Lismore near Oban. In the east of Europe, however, whence Ireland's faith was brought, cathedrals are frequently of most restricted dimensions. The church of St. Eleutherios (nearly always called the old cathedral or 'metropolis') at Athens measures only about 40 by 25 feet.

## DUBLIN: CHRISTCHURCH.

Before the Anglo-Norman conquest of the land had been even so much as proposed, other invaders of northern stock had turned their dragon-prowed vessels toward

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Ireland, had founded cities and built churches in a style of their own on her fjords. The only fragment of their work that has lasted to our day seems to be the exceedingly interesting crypt of Christchurch in Dublin, part of the structure raised in 1038 at the expense of Sigtryg Silkbeard, Danish king of the city, by Donat, its first Ostman bishop.[1] The Scandinavians evolved a very distinctive form of Gothic of their own,[2] but that was in later days. This structure displays no trace of its influence, though it is not very like contemporary Romanesque work elsewhere. The plan is cruciform with aisles to the five-bay nave; each transept extends two bays, and the short quire of a single bay has a most irregular three-sided apse with ambulatory round. The south side bends inward considerably more than the north; the work is so very rough that this is probably to be attributed simply to careless building. The piers are very low, shapeless and huge; the vaulting is extremely solid, roughly round-arched. All is of rubble, and from its resemblance to undoubtedly native work it seems likely that the actual workmen were Irish, though the whole design, and particularly the existence of the apse, mark a great departure from the Celtic past.[3]

The upper church was rebuilt by the renowned Richard Strongbow,[4] with the help of archbishop Laurence O'Toole (p. 349) and others about the year 1170. It seems,

[1] Dr. A. G. Ryder, in his notes on Christchurch, dated February, 1884, appended to Canon Leeper's *Historical Handbook to St. Patrick's Cathedral*, says the crypt is part of Strongbow's church, but, in company with Sir Thomas Drew and others, I feel sure that he is wrong.

[2] Its special features are described in my *Capitals of the Northlands*, 1914: see especially p. 165 seq.

[3] Of the Danish cathedral at Waterford nothing now survives except the bottom of a thirteenth-century clustered column, which may still be seen under the floor of the church which replaced it in 1773. The lofty and very striking spire of this fine classic building, designed by John Roberts, dominates the whole city. From the plan and views of the mediaeval church, given in Harris' edition of Ware's *History of the Bishops of Ireland* (Dublin, 1739, opposite p. 525), it evidently had nave and aisles of eight bays, a low and heavy tower rising over the fifth bay from the west on the north side. Eastward the cathedral was extended three bays by the lower Trinity church. The west front was widened by two chapels, north and south; on the northern side projected other chapels, including that founded by James Rice, whose late-fifteenth-century monument remains in the ante-chapel of the existing church. According to a horrible occasional custom of the age, frogs and worms are represented crawling from the decaying corpse.

[4] Among the very few mediaeval monuments are effigies supposed to represent Strongbow and his son, whom he slew for cowardice in fight. As the larger effigy bears the arms of FitzOsmond, it has clearly been substituted for the original one.

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however, that they desired to remove the old church rather because they felt that they could improve upon its form than because it showed signs of decay. If it resembled its crypt, its massive fabric might have withstood the badness of the foundation on a peaty bog and the neglect of centuries better than the structure that actually rose upon its site. The existing transepts, though very much restored, are part of this first English church (fig. 5). They are good examples of Gothic first emerging from Romanesque. Their rubble walls are pierced by a Norman south door with shafts,[1] and a plain arch of

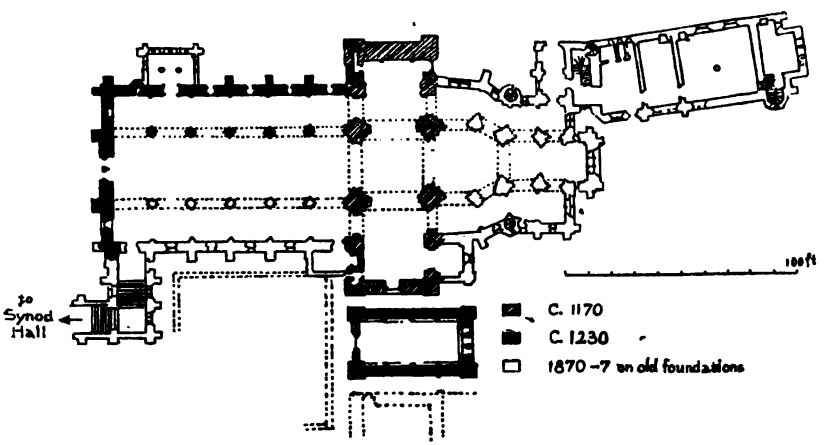


FIG. 5. PLAN OF CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN.

the same character leads into the rebuilt chapel of St. Laurence O'Toole[2] (archbishop, 1162–1180) on the east of the south transept; the end windows are in the same style. The side walls are pierced by round blindstory arches, each enclosing two little pointed openings. In the clerestory are grouped lancets, and the roofs are plain quadripartite vaults.

The nave is rather later in date, having been built in the early part of the thirteenth century, that golden

[1] This doorway was moved from the north transept in 1831.

[2] Grace's *Annals of Ireland* record in 1283: 'Arsit Dubliniae pars et campanile Trinitatis,' but this does not seem to have affected the nave. The present tower is practically modern. The church, like others, was called Trinity or Christchurch interchangeably.

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age of Gothic art that enriched Europe with so many glorious fanes. The large piers are lightened by banded shafts whose foliage capitals with frequent heads do much to recall local peculiarities in Somerset. Above the well-moulded arches rise blindstory and clerestory, both comprised under one arch and each pierced by triple lancet arches, each middle one trefoiled. Of the original work only the north wall and arcade remain, and there are indications that the sixth and last bay on the west, beyond the crypt, was not part of the first design: the whole leans outward about a couple of feet. This may have been intended, but it seems more likely that it was caused by the slippery foundations which caused the whole south part to collapse in the reign of Elizabeth. This disaster and the subsequent rebuilding are recorded in an inscription:

THE : RIGHT : HONORABL : T : ERL : OF : SUSSEX : L : LEVTNT : THIS : WAL : FEL : DOWN : IN : AN : 1562 × THE : BILDING OF : THIS : WAL : WAS : IN : AN : 1570.

Though this lettering was preserved, the whole of the sixteenth-century work (which seems to have justified Edmund Spenser's criticisms of church restoration in Ireland[1]) was destroyed by Street when he restored or rather rebuilt the church.[2] So anxious was he to bring back, and even to improve upon, the original appearance in the thirteenth century, that he raised and greatly enriched the arches of the tower, and destroyed a long square-ended extension of the quire[3] that in the fourteenth century had taken the place of the apse, re-erecting the apse itself with the three square-ended vaulted chapels[4] that open from the ambulatory to the east. The work

[1] 'Next care in religion is to builde up and repayre all the ruinous churches, whereof the most part lye even with the grounde, and some that have bene lately repayred are soe unhandsomelye patched and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomeliness therof; therfore I would wish that there were order taken to have them builte in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shewe (assure your selfe) doth greatlye drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting therof, what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye, there is nothing in the seemelye forme, and comely orders of the church' (*View of the state of Ireland*: see *Works*, Globe ed. p. 680).

[2] In 1870–1877 at the expense of Mr. Henry Roe.

[3] The work of John de St. Paul, archbishop, 1349–1362. The structure is said to have been very poor. It says much for the massiveness of the crypt that no care was taken to strengthen its vault before building walls and pillars upon it.

[4] St. Edmund, St. Mary the White and St. Laud.

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is extremely well done, many of the original carved stones are fitted in,[1] and the interior effect is most striking, giving the character of a noble cathedral with the dimensions of a moderate-sized church. The original appearance of the nave was rather unusually elaborate, especially the lancets of the aisles with their five-times-banded shafts.

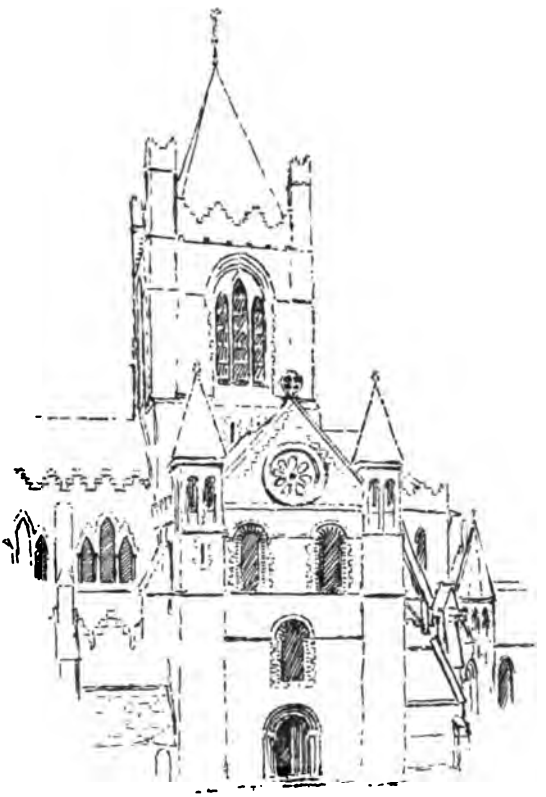

FIG. 6. CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN: SOUTH SIDE.

The exterior is almost entirely renewed, and the effect of the low central tower and extremely short quire (with its misshapen apse, having the east wall much longer than the north and south) is by no means very

[1] Many were available lying under the nave floor, which had been raised in level to avoid the trouble of clearing away the *débris* left by the fall of the south arcade, vaulting, etc.

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satisfactory (fig. 6), though greater importance is given to the building by the new chapter-house and library extending on the site of an ancient chapel set irregularly to the north-east, a baptistery on the north side of the nave, and the synod-hall approached by a covered passage across the street. This last occupies the site and incorporates the tower of the church of St. Michael, a fine fourteenth-century structure with four square turrets very nearly as large as the cathedral tower itself.

By St. Laurence O'Toole the cathedral was placed in charge of Austin canons of the congregation of Arrouaise. The cloister was on the south side of the nave; little remains except the foundations of the beautiful rectangular chapter-house. It was vaulted in four bays with clustered shafts. Eastward was a large triplet; westward a door with window aside opened into the cloisters, all of early thirteenth-century character.[1]

## DUBLIN: ST. PATRICK'S.

In a spot known as the Insula between two branches of the little stream of Poddle, a tributary of the Liffey, archbishop John Comyn founded a collegiate church which took its name from an old parochial one on the site. It was consecrated on St. Patrick's day, 1191. Tradition, reinforced by the discovery in 1901 of an ancient Celtic cross of granite on the site, claims for this church an origin in the very earliest times.[2] Here, without the city walls of Dublin, the primate was lord of the manor, and in his new foundation he looked forward to ampler control than he could exercise in the monastic

[1] The original Four courts were built where the cloister had been, and one of the approaches was through a dark passage from the east called Hell. This has generally been supposed to have been the slype between the chapter-house and the transept wall, on north of the chapter-house, but Grose's drawing (*Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791, vol. i, p. 5) shows the chapter-house itself forming a passage, the bases of its shafts, etc. covered up with earth. The name hell originated from a blackened old figure which some one pretended to mistake for the devil.

[2] Perhaps founded by St. Patrick himself, for, as Dr. Bernard (formerly dean, now archbishop) points out in his excellent history and description of the cathedral (G. Bell & Sons, 1903), p. 4, 'in Celtic times churches were never dedicated to non-Scriptural saints except in the case of the actual founders.' The ground must indeed have been holy when Ireland's greatest church was built on such a quaking bog. The original St. Patrick's well was close to the tower; there is another within the church at the entrance to the south quire aisle.

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cathedral of the Trinity. Beside the new church he built a palace for himself which, in the true spirit of that crusading age, he named after the Holy Sepulchre.

By his successor, Henry de Loundres, St. Patrick's was made a second cathedral, in 1213; its relation to the older one is somewhat baffling. An arrangement, called 'Pacis compositio,' was arranged by archbishop Ferings in 1300. The archbishops were to be consecrated and enthroned in Christ church and it was ordained 'quod ecclesiae predictae sint ad invicem cathedrales etiam metropoliticae: ita quod ecclesia S. Trinitatis tanquam major, matrix, et senior, in omnibus iuribus ecclesiae seu negotiis praeponatur.'[1]

Despite its name, St. Patrick's resembled many other great foundations on Irish soil in being very exclusively English. In 1514, by a 'compositio realis' between the archbishop and the dean and chapter, 'the ancient custom of this church is confirmed and ratified that all Irishmen by blood and nation, and all who conform to them in mode of life, are shut out from being members of this cathedral.' We need not then be surprised to find this feature very strongly reflected in the architecture of the building itself; indeed, excepting its name and its site, there is hardly anything Irish about it, not even the greater part of its materials.

The two west bays of the south aisle of the nave (fig. 7[2]) seem to date from about the time of the foundation of Comyn. They are simply vaulted with stone ribs rising from quaint little shafts whose capitals resemble Norman scallop work. This part is so much lower than

[1] The document is printed in Monck Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, 1820, p. viii. John Allen, archbishop temp Henry VIII, says St. Patrick's is 'united with the cathedral of the Holy Trinity in one spouse, saving to the other church the prerogative of honour.' Campion's *History of Ireland*, under date 1182, says, 'Divers contentions were raised between Christs Church and it for antiquity wherein they of St. Patrick's are (no doubt) inferiour, as shall appeare. They are both written Cathedrall Churches, and both are the Bishop's Chapiter, in whose election they both ought to convent within the Church of the blessed Trinity, called Christs Church, which in all records hath the preheminency of place.'

I am not aware of any exact parallel for this duplication of cathedrals for the same diocese in the same city, though its apparent cause—strained relations between a bishop and his chapter—was by no means unknown elsewhere. There is some resemblance in the basilicas at Rome and the cathedrals in Moscow.

[2] On this plan I have thought it best to ignore the fact that most of the thirteenth-century work, including the whole north transept, has been rebuilt. It is most difficult to distinguish precisely between the old and new building.

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the rest that a chapter-house is provided above it, and Sir Thomas Drew conjectured that it formed the original gateway; this does not seem very likely.

Henry had been present at the consecration of Salisbury cathedral in 1225, and the influence of that church on the design is exceedingly marked, especially in the arrangement of the lady chapel, perhaps in the absence of a central tower,[1] but St. Patrick's is on a con-

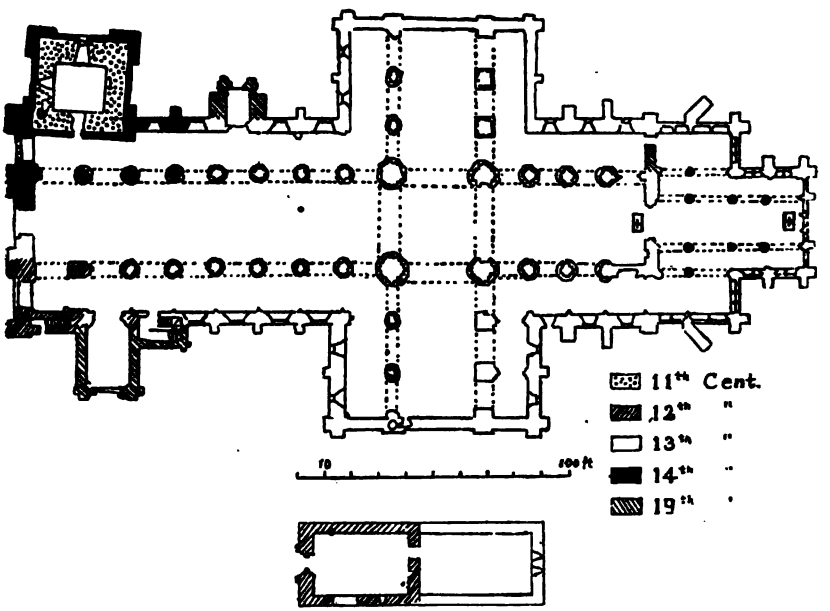


FIG. 7. THE LARGEST AND SMALLEST IRISH CATHEDRAL CHURCHES COMPARED: ST. PATRICK'S (DUBLIN) AND AGHADOE.

siderably smaller scale, its total length being but 300 feet instead of 473. Nave, transepts and quire are all shortened, the nave from ten bays to eight, the transepts from four to three, the quire from seven to four. The east transept of Salisbury and also the great north porch[2] are at St. Patrick's omitted, but on the other hand the

[1] At Salisbury the bells were hung in a great detached tower which was destroyed in the eighteenth century by Wyatt. If one may judge from the arches that now with difficulty sustain the loftiest of English spires, little in the way of a middle steeple was originally contemplated.

[2] Both the St. Patrick's porches are modern.

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great transept has aisles both east and west, instead of (as at Salisbury) eastern alone. Both churches are built of West of England oolite stone.

As Dr. Bernard points out (p. 9), the first documentary notice of the building of St. Patrick's is in the Patent roll for 1225, when a protection 'was issued for four years for the preachers of the fabric of the church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, going through Ireland to beg alms for that fabric.' The exterior is severely plain, as is not unusual in great thirteenth-century churches; the original windows are all lancets, the buttresses are gable-topped, the parapets have Irish step-battlements; on the north of the nave and on both sides of the quire are a few pinnacles and flying buttresses; the west front has large and rather heavy square turrets, the transepts have smaller ones also square, while the quire has octagonal turrets, but from old prints it is clear that much of all this is new. Eastward of the quire is a superb lady-chapel of four bays, the two western of which are of five aisles, continuing the full width of the church, but the two east bays are of three aisles only. As at Salisbury the triforium arcade is carried across the east wall of the quire[1] with five arches above at the clerestory level. All these in St. Patrick's are pierced; at Salisbury, only three. While behind the altar at Salisbury three arches open to the lady-chapel and its aisles, there is at St. Patrick's only one, with a niche on either hand, so that only the middle part of the chapel is seen. In both cases, however, the view is enriched by a sight of the eastern triplet of the lady-chapel above the reredos of the high altar. The St. Patrick's lady-chapel is traditionally assigned to archbishop Fulk de Saundford (c. 1270), and its erection probably marked the completion of the church in general accordance with the original design.

The interior is spacious and striking, and though in its present form it is mainly modern,[2] the general character of the original is fairly well preserved. The central arches and the vaulting between them, with some of the

[1] At St. Patrick's three arches, each subdivided into two, with a niche high up on either side; at Salisbury five simple arches rising from clustered shafts.

[2] Carpenter was the architect chiefly responsible, but much of the work was done without expert advice.

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stone roofing of the aisles, are the genuine work of the thirteenth century: other parts have been largely rebuilt, and the nave vault is lath and plaster, as a heavier weight could hardly be borne. Most of the pillars are octagonal,

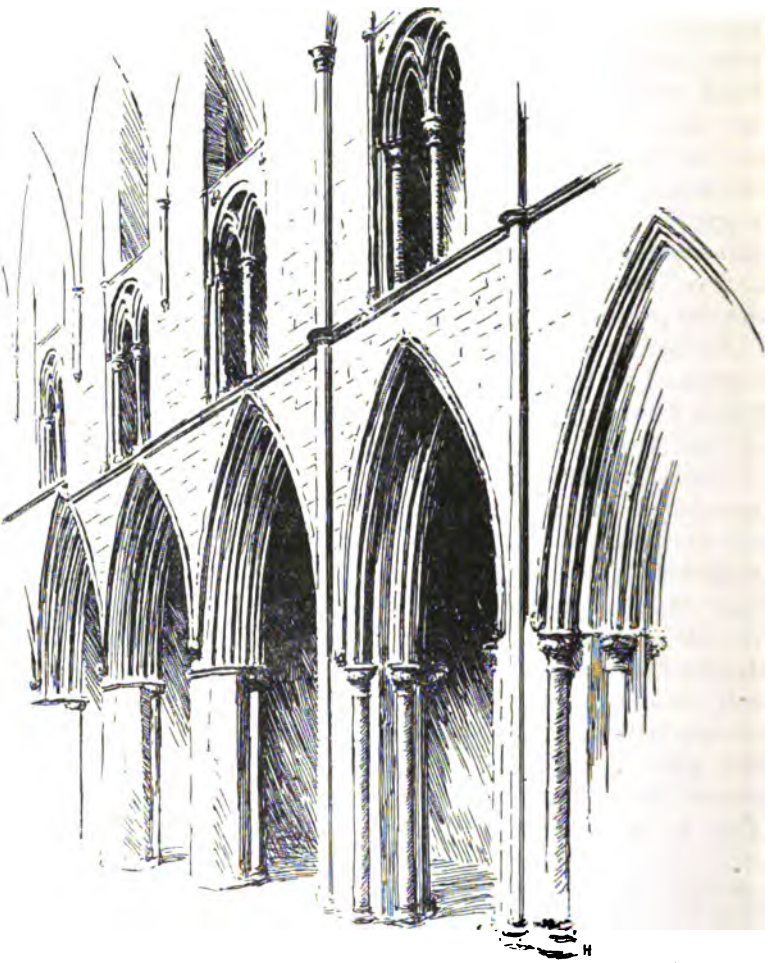

FIG. 8. ST. PATRICK'S: NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.

with three shafts to support each arch and one each for the vaulting of centre and aisles (fig. 8), but there is some variety: the pillars of the east aisle of the transept are oblong and have their shafts differently arranged. Above the large and well-moulded lancet arches the blindstory

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has in each bay two small arches comprised under a larger one, and the clerestory is lit by single lancets, except that the middle bay of each transept, which is slightly wider than the other two, has triplets both east and west; this is also the case in the quire, where, however, only the central lancet is pierced. In the nave the two upper stories in each bay, as at Christchurch, are comprised under a single arch,[1] but in the quire and the transepts they are divided by a string.

The beautiful lady-chapel was once gutted, so that practically everything is modern, though the original design has been fairly preserved. There is a distinct reminder of the quire of the Temple church in the way that the vaulting springs from the slender clustered shafts without any intermediate arches.[2]

Partly from the very bad foundations and partly because of fires, the structure has frequently been a source of much anxiety to its guardians. Only about a century after the original building, a fire in 1362 necessitated the reconstruction by archbishop Minot of the four west bays on the north of the nave. This was carried out with a certain amount of variety in plan. The plain octagonal pillars of the new work have shafts against them only for the vaulting of the aisles and to carry the inner orders of the elaborately moulded arches. These are higher than the others (fig. 8); the two eastern ones reach the stringcourse under the blindstory, and the two western ones cause it to be a few inches higher than elsewhere. The stories above are very much the same in design as in the rest of the nave, except that the vaulting shafts rest on corbels between the blindstory

[1] A sketch by R. O'C. Newenham in 1828 (Bernard, p. 21) shows the blindstory arches entirely gone, so that the passage along the clerestory is interrupted in each bay. The nave has a timber roof, and the pillars are deprived of most of their shafts. The west window is a large five-light opening in the style of the fifteenth century, though it only dated from the end of the seventeenth. It has been superseded by three great lancets to match the other arm of the church; but this is a very questionable improvement.

[2] A letter by dean Pakenham, published in vol. vii (1850) of the *Ecclesiologist*, gives some idea of the extent of rebuilding that had to be done. '*All* the arches in the choir were entirely closed, and four in the other part of the building. Monuments filled some and galleries cut across others, for the support of which the capitals of the pillars were cut away to let in joists. . . . The lower windows of the choir were of all sorts of shapes and heights; some to suit ovens put into them by Oliver Cromwell, some to make vaults. . . . The lady-chapel was in so disgraceful a state that, after having had all the original lines taken accurately by Mr. Carpenter, the old building was totally taken down.'

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openings instead of reaching the ground. The beautiful fourteenth-century window of three lights with flowing tracery at the west end of the aisle dates from the same time, and to Minot is also attributed the great tower with four square turrets which still bears his name.[1] It appears certain that in reality this was a much older tower, against which the church was originally built,[2] and that what the archbishop really did was to re-face and to heighten it. It is extremely massive, the walls are ten feet thick and the work is extremely plain except for the two-light upper windows in the style of the fourteenth century. A most unflattering account of the masons is to be gleaned from a register of St. Patrick's, commencing 1367, among the manuscripts quoted by Ware[3]: 'After the burning of St. Patrick's church, sixty stragling and idle fellows were taken up, and obliged to assist in repairing the church and building the steeple; who when the work was over returned to their old trade of begging; but were banished out of the diocese in 1376, by Robert de Wikeford' (archbishop 1375–1390). The octagonal granite spire was added in 1749 from a design by George Semple (the builder of the old Essex bridge over the Liffey), money for the purpose having been left by John Stearne, dean 1704–1713, and afterwards bishop of Dromore (1713) and Clogher (1717–1745).

Few great churches have experienced stranger vicissitudes. As early as 1320 archbishop Alexander de Bicknor set up a university in the cathedral, whose work seems to have consisted chiefly of lectures given by its own clergy; but, as Ware[4] says, 'for want of a sufficient

[1] He took as his seal a bishop holding a steeple.

[2] Mr. P. M. Johnston writes to me: 'I think the core of the lower part of St. Patrick's tower is probably Danish of the eleventh century.' I am inclined to attribute it to about that date from its general character and the four large round-arched recesses in the walls of the ringing chamber. That it is at any rate older than the church seems evident (1) from its not joining at right-angles, but making an awkward projection into the aisle (see plan, fig. 7), [Desire for some particular axis to the church or carelessness in setting it out might easily put the cathedral at a slight angle to an already existing tower, but it is most unlikely that a tower would be *added* in such a position], (2) from the huge massiveness of the tower, which would have been most suitable for military purposes, but has no apparent reason in a bell-tower of a church, (3) from the fact that the tower opens by a mere doorway and not by an arch, (4) from the great improbability that so important a building as St. Patrick's would lack a tower for so many years, while there is no trace of any other having existed. The stair is built on the corbel principle, without a central newel, but such are usual in Ireland both in military and ecclesiastical buildings.

[3] *Bishops*, p. 333.

[4] *Bishops*, p. 330.

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fund to maintain the students, by degrees it dwindled to nothing.' In the reign of Edward VI part of the church was turned into a law-court. In that of Elizabeth it was very nearly decided to make the cathedral the seat of a new university, but this unsatisfactory plan was defeated, largely, by the opposition of archbishop Loftus, who secured instead the far more suitable site of the Augustinian house of All Hallows, still occupied by Trinity college. The cathedral chapter was preserved, one day to be presided over by Jonathan Swift, the chief of the worthies of Dublin. The lady-chapel has at different times been used as a church for conformist Huguenots and for the inauguration of the knights of St. Patrick.[1]

The church possesses hardly any mediaeval monuments, but there are some late brasses[2] as well as really striking and interesting memorials of more recent date that do much for the appearance of the aisles. By far the most remarkable is the huge four-storied seventeenth-century monument erected on the site of the high altar by Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork.[3]

## LIMERICK.

The only Irish cathedral whose architectural history is as complicated and difficult to disentangle as are those of most of the English ones is St. Mary's at Limerick (fig. 9). A small building, about 160 feet long and with the only tower at the west end, its external appearance is that of a mere parish church, but within the long line of stalls,[4] extending to the west end of the nave, and the

[1] This order dates only from 1783; since 1871 it has had nothing to do with the church, but many of its banners hang over the quire stalls.

[2] Dean Sutton, 1528: dean Fyche, 1537; Sir Henry Wallop, 1599; Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth, Cheshire, 1579.

[3] This is one of the very finest of its kind; there are the usual columns and cornices with figures on four levels. One of the smallest represents the famous Robert afterwards described as 'father of Pneumatic Philosophy and brother of the Earl of Cork.' Strafford's share in getting this structure removed from behind the altar antagonised a powerful family, and greatly contributed to his fall. It is now at the west end of the nave. For the good order in which the church appears to-day the world is indebted to the devotion of Sir Benjamin Guinness and Lord Iveagh.

[4] Many of them are oak-work of the fifteenth century with carved misericords of some spirit, interesting as being among the extremely scanty specimens of mediaeval woodwork that Ireland has to show. They are figured by T. J. Westropp: *Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1892, p. 74. Help from his plan of the church is very gratefully acknowledged.

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added transepts, so numerous as to present the effect of double aisles, give much of the character of a cathedral, the appearance being rather continental. Lavish restoration with a liberal use of plaster has done very much to obscure the history of the building.

The church was founded by Domhnall O'Brien, king of Munster (d. 1194); he lies at rest in the quire under a slab with ornate cross, animals and interlacing scrolls. His work evidently consisted of an oblong west tower, nave of three bays, with narrow aisles engaging the tower, square transepts and very short quire. The heavy square piers have corner-shafts with very simple capitals, mere

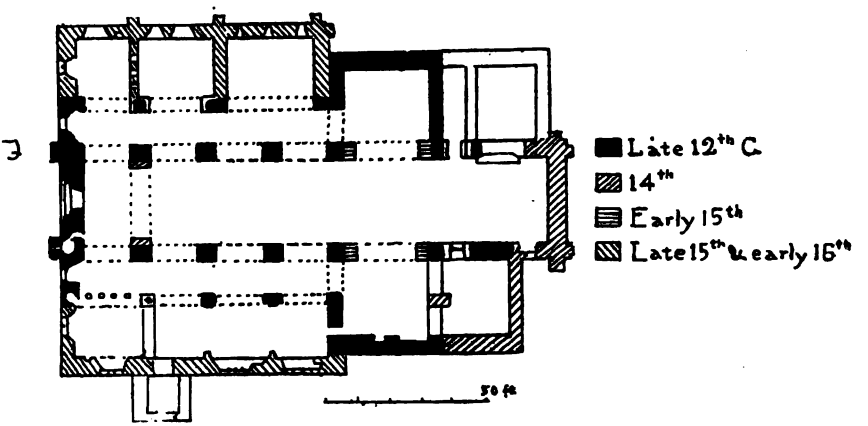


FIG. 9. PLAN OF LIMERICK CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

abaci with little pieces of carving here and there. On each side of the nave are three plain pointed arches with flat soffits, and above them five round-headed clerestory windows with a passage along. There still remain plain scallop-cap corbels for arches across the aisles, and other plainer little blocks of stone to sustain their wooden roofs. The only further existing detail which seems contemporary is the west door of the tower, which has four orders, the two outer ones with detached shafts. Some of the capitals have characteristic Celtic interlacing work.

The solemn gloom of this primitive Gothic was unsatisfactory to later ages: in the fourteenth century an inserted tall arch with filleted shafts opened more widely

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to the nave the three large lancets in the west wall of the tower, the upper part of which appears to date from about the same time. The two-light windows have their tracery varied. The turrets and battlements are modern; the old summit was destroyed in the siege of 1690–1691.

During the fourteenth century also the quire was slightly lengthened (or possibly only rebuilt): in its north and south walls remain rather poor windows of the period. The great east triplet is modern. The sedile bench is open below, and in the back of the recess is a round window. At or about the same time as the lengthening of the quire, there was built on the south a chapel open to it by a plain ogee-headed door, and to the transept by two arches: this is now turned into a vestry and modernised. In the transept are a double piscina under a trefoil arch, a sepulchral recess with cinquefoiled arch and pinnacles, and three most beautiful sedilia, their trefoiled arches resting on shafts with spiral fluting, while a merchant's mark is worked into the base of two arches. This seems a late use of spiral fluting, which in England is generally Norman,[1] though it reappeared in renaissance ornament.

Probably in the early fifteenth century, a chapel was added on the north of the quire, opening by a fine archway with triple shafts aside, and by an ogee-headed door similar to that on the other side. The arch, which breaks one of the side windows of the quire, is now blocked by a large and rather fine renaissance monument to an earl of Thomond, restored after damage in wars by an earl of Limerick in the late seventeenth century. A house stands on the site of the chapel.

During the first part of the fifteenth century also very wide and lofty new transept arches were inserted, elongated corbels carrying their thin inner orders. The object of this rather questionable improvement was evidently to throw open the remarkable end windows of the transepts, each of which consists of three great

[1] It is not very common; there is an example at Pocklington, Yorks. on a shaft now loose in the north chapel. Champneys dates the beautiful sedilia at Limerick 1360–1370. The fifteenth-century font consists of an octagonal bowl on a short base, fluted spirally.

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trefoiled lancets under a single arch, and another lancet on either side. They appear to be insertions of the fourteenth century, for in Ireland lancets are common in every period.

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were added those peculiarly Irish transept chapels that give the building its special character. On the south the three eastern ones are open to each other to form

FIG. 10. LIMERICK CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

an outer aisle, and the old wall of the inner aisle is pierced by three pointed arches which are perfectly plain and covered with modern plaster except the capitals, which look like an imitation of Norman work. The chapel furthest east has a very remarkable five-light window, whose head is pierced by a multitude of little openings, like net-work stretched with perfectly vertical divisions (fig. 10). The other windows are of the familiar intersecting mullion type, one of three lights and the other of

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two. In the corner south of the tower is another chapel with chamber above. This has ornate modern fittings with recumbent effigy for lord Glentworth (d. 1844).

To the great transept on the north side is added westward another chapel in the form of a still larger and more protuberant transept, which has happily never been thrown open by an arch to the nave, but looks into it through the original arcade and clerestory windows. Its end wall is pierced by five huge lancets, and under them are some square-headed windows in the style of the late fourteenth century. In this, known as the Arthur chapel, is a very large stone altar slab, with the usual five crosses, standing on small stone legs. The Arthur chapel occupies two bays, and two smaller chapels continue its projection to the west face of the tower. These now form lady-chapel and baptistery, and have modern vaults in plaster and wood.[1] No part of the church is vaulted in stone.[2]

## CASHEL: THE CATHEDRAL.

The situation of the cathedral, which looks down upon the golden vale of Tipperary from the renowned rock of Cashel, is entirely unrivalled in Ireland, and the building itself is one of the most original and impressive in the island. It consists of a very massive central tower with long and lofty quire and transepts, each having two east chapels, a very short nave of only two bays[3] originally

[1] From J. Ferrar's *History of Limerick* (1787) it appears that the church had formerly elaborate renaissance fittings with Corinthian columns surrounding the altar and throne. The restoration about 1860 under Mr. Slater's direction is described in the *Ecclesiologist*, xviii. The cathedral in its present condition is described by Mr. T. J. Westropp in *R. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1898, pp. 112–121.

[2] At Newtown Trim are the ruins of a remarkable monastic cathedral of the early thirteenth century, a church forming a simple oblong, 136 by 30 feet, and vaulted throughout. It is particularly described with sketch plan on p. 108 of this volume. There are pilaster buttresses both on the front and sides at the east end; only on the front at the west. The whole central portion has disappeared. The west part seems slightly later than the east; its vaulting shafts are filleted and spring from strangely curving corbels; each side wall had a passage on two levels, and a passage passes along the west gable. The scaffolding holes are conspicuous. The altar platform still survives; there are two moulded round-headed sedilia. A clumsy traceried window replaced the beautiful eastern triplet, but very little survives.

[3] It is not easy to account for this rather capricious reduction of the nave to a mere vestibule of the transept. From the aesthetic point of view it was unquestionably a mistake, as it places the two great towers so close together that they frequently

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with large north and south porches, of which only the south porch remains, and a military west tower which formed the residence of the primate of Munster. There are no aisles (fig. 11).

A very fine old round tower[1] joins the north transept in its north-east corner; Cormac's chapel extends irregularly between the south transept and the quire. Its west wall is clumsily incorporated with the east wall of the transept, reducing its eastern chapels to mere recesses instead of their being quite deep projections, as on the north. The north tower of the chapel just touches the

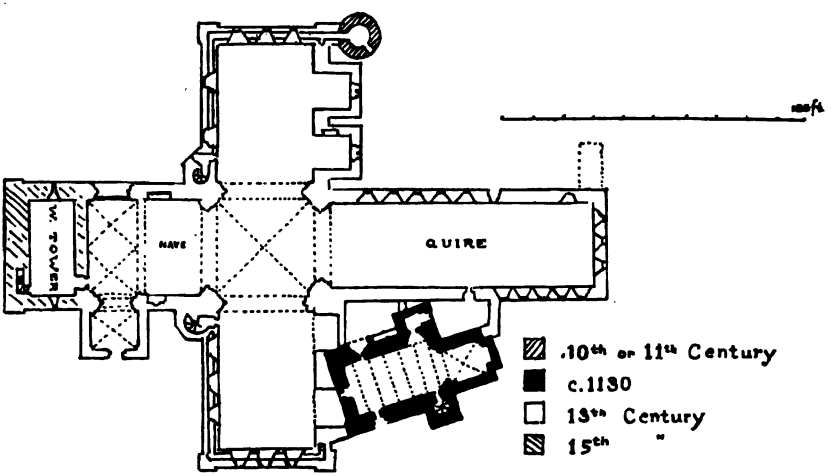


FIG. 11. PLAN OF CASHEL CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

south wall of the quire, leaving a little open court in the angle of the transept (west of the tower); a short wall connects the north-east corner of the chapel with the quire, and the space enclosed (east of the tower) was roofed to form a little chapel.

appear joined in a rather confused and inartistic mass. The manner in which the round tower and Cormac's chapel are incorporated also leaves much to be desired. As a general rule the happy blending of the work of different ages is a great glory of British architecture. Here, however, the general effect is almost as incongruous as in the cathedral at Aix-la-chapelle, whose later quire and numerous chapels seem to cling to the octagon with sixteen-sided ambulatory built by Charles the great like shell-fish to a stone.

[1] The lower part is rubble, the rest very good ashlar in small regular sandstone blocks. The door, south-east, as usual some feet from the ground, has a round arch; the other openings have lintels except the top windows which have triangular heads cut in single stones. The conical roof is perfect. The tower rises to the height of 77 feet.

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Ware[1] says that the founder of Limerick cathedral 'built a new church there (at Cashel) from the foundation, about the time of the arrival of the English, in the reign of Henry II, which he endowed with lands, and converted Cormac's old church into a chapel or chapter-house, on the south side of the choir.' This is puzzling; for the whole of the present building is clearly half a century later. The middle tower rests on lancet arches (each of three orders and bevelled) that rise from filleted shafts, all banded except the central ones; little heads look out from the foliage of their caps in a manner characteristic of Somerset. The space between is covered by a simple quadripartite vault with a central bell-hole. All the four arms had high timber roofs; the corbels to support them still remain. The windows are tall lancets with banded shafts, quire and transepts having triplets at their ends. The chapels of the north transept have lancets in pairs, separated by mullions. In the spandrels of the side lancets of the quire are strange little additional windows, quatrefoils without and within, moulded segmental arches above and below, shafts at the sides. Among other enrichments are trefoiled and gabled niches in the corner pilaster buttresses of the transepts, and high up in their gables, above the great triplets, rose windows of which only the centres are pierced. These were open to the church on account of the tall timber roofs, and one result they have is slightly to depress the inner arches over the middle lancets. The lancets themselves have been rather clumsily reduced in height.

The western of the two narrow little bays of the nave was roofed over by a vaulted stone gallery, but little more remains than a clustered respond in the centre of the west wall and the lower part of a flight of steps. The vestibule below the gallery was extended north and south by two porches opening by arches (with filleted shafts and foliage caps) like transepts, recalling, though on a smaller scale, the ante-chapels of New college, Magdalen, Merton, and All Souls' at Oxford. The north porch has entirely disappeared; the other one is still perfect.

[1] *Bishops*, p. 464.

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Ware[1] tells us that archbishop Richard O'Hedian (1406–1450) 'built a hall for his vicars choral, whom he also endowed. . . . He repaired some of the archiepiscopal palaces in his manors; and (which ought not to be concealed) new-built the cathedral of St. Patrick; or at least repaired it from a very ruinous condition in which it then was.' The vicars' hall with other chambers adjoin the curtain-wall of the rock on the south. They are very plain, and some of the windows are enclosed by ogee arches. It is very evident that the works undertaken on the cathedral itself included the building of the upper part of the middle tower and the reconstruction of the west tower, practically from the ground. The former is a great, square, military-looking structure, rather low, for it is overtopped by the round tower, and has a most unusually large stair-turret to the top, south-west. Round the summit is a flagged parapet-passage with frequent little gargoyles, and, as is frequently the case in Ireland, the gables, east and west, are thin walls kept within it. Immediately below the gable-marks for four great arms of the church are little windows, each of two trefoiled lights, no hood of any kind above them.

Above the south porch are chambers with two large hooded fire-places: at the end of one of the projecting hoods is a quarter stone ring connecting it with the wall, a very strange feature. These rooms formed a portion of the fortified mansion of the primate of Munster, most of which was contained in the oblong west tower, which had gables north and south, its vast saddle-roof being thus at right-angles to that of the central tower, only thirty-five feet away. The chief apartment was a hall with tunnel-vaulted roof, about half of which remains, and basement chambers below. Above are two stages of rather cheerful rooms approached by straight stairways in the massive walls.[2] Their windows command fine views over the golden vale, and one of them has a large

[1] *Bishops*, p. 480.

[2] Possibly such a combination of church and dwelling was a legacy from Celtic days, but it is by no means uncommon elsewhere. In the middle towers of Carmelite church at South Queensferry and the Hospitallers' church at Torphichen are dwelling-rooms with fire-places (see *Berwick and Lothian Coast*, by I. C. Hannah, pp. 319, 345). Rooms over porches are common in England, particularly East Anglia. One at Cromer has a garderobe.

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hooded fire-place. Despite its strange position at the west end of a cathedral, this structure is exactly similar to the numerous fortalices, many of them belonging to the same period, which are to be found in every part of Ireland (fig. 12).[1]

The fact that the episcopal residence was an integral part of the cathedral makes more intelligible the frequently quoted story of how Gerald FitzGerald, earl of Kildare, tried before Henry VII for burning the church, suddenly confessed himself guilty, but added in explanation: 'By Jesus, I would never have done it, had it not been told me the archbishop was within.' However, the thick

FIG. 12. CASHEL CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

walls, heavy vault and indestructible stairway of the tower would seem to make it most unlikely that any one who happened to be within would perish in a conflagration, unless, perhaps, he were asleep at the time.[2]

[1] A striking example of a dwelling-house is to be seen between the south aisle and tower (south-west) at Terrington St. John, Norfolk.

[2] The cathedral contains a few ancient tombs (including that of archbishop Meiler Magrath, d. 1621), rather plain sedilia and sundry fragments of carving, especially in the north transept. It was dismantled by archbishop Price (1744–1752) in the middle of the eighteenth century, a classical church down in the town being built with some of the materials. Rising over the square stone on which the kings of Munster were crowned is a curious late cross with a figure of St. Patrick and tracery on each side under the cross-piece. It is seen by the south-west corner of the transept in fig. 12. The whole rock is defended by a curtain wall, so that the cathedral formed a sort of keep.

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## KILDARE.

Beside the holy fire of St. Bridget at Kildare an English bishop, Ralph de Bristol (1223–1232), erected another fortified cathedral on a site which, like the rock of Cashel, is still dominated by a Celtic round tower (fig. 13). This structure rises to a height of over a hundred feet, but its appearance is very much spoilt by the fact that modern battlements have replaced the ancient cap. The lower part is very substantially built of granite ashlar with simple plinth; this only extends for nine or ten feet, and the

FIG. 13. KILDARE FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

rest is limestone rubble, largely overgrown by plants. Beside the doorway, some fifteen feet from the ground, the walling is partly of red sandstone ashlar, including a gable line above the arch. The door is round-headed in three orders, each having a kind of zigzag. The inner one has a very remarkable ornament, a sort of diaper formed by placing eight-petalled flowers within the diamonds made by two lines of zigzag coming together at the angles. This inner order alone has rough shafts, two aside in the same plane, but only carved in low relief. The four top windows are very wide and round-headed; the other openings are also round-headed or triangular-topped.

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In the churchyard are very slight foundations of two Celtic chapels, one of which was traditionally the site of the holy fire. In the south transept is a very plain old oblong font of a common Irish form; in 1891 an unsculptured wheel-cross was re-erected to the south-west of the church (fig. 14).

The cathedral consists simply of nave, transepts and quire; there is no aisle, but a chapel once extended eastward from the south transept. By far the most striking feature of the building is the series of arches that spring from buttress to buttress to carry the parapet walks along

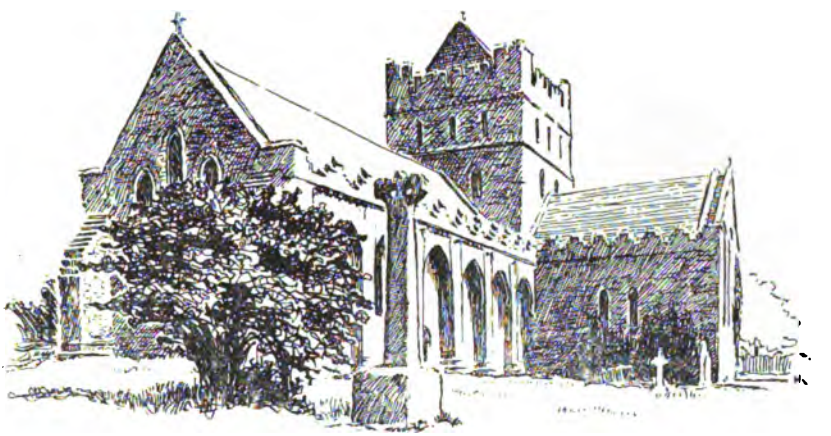

FIG. 14. KILDARE CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

the eaves of nave and quire. At first sight one might conclude that aisles had existed and that the arches that opened to them were walled up. It is a form of building very rare in the British isles, though found sometimes in castellated churches on the continent, for example in the very striking and vast Santa Chiara at Naples. There are six such arches on each side of the nave, two and a half[1] in the quire. The parapet walks, protected by Irish battlements, rest upon these arches, but are upon the top of the archless walls of the transepts; they are continued

[1] The half-arches end against the tower. The present work is new, but presumably the original was like it.

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by steps over the four gables. As both walls of the nave and the west walls of the transepts are built outside the lines of the walls of the tower, the walk is continuous from the south-east to the north-east corner of the tower, over the west end of the church, but the walks of the quire are separate, as there are no openings through the eastern corners of the tower. Through the soffits of the arches there are machicolation holes, except (where one would imagine them most in point) over the south door; but in truth the fortification is far more in appearance than in substance.

The interior is extremely impressive from the dignified simplicity and the good effect of the low lantern over the arches of the tower. There are no piers on the east where the arches rest on the corners of the quire and transept walls, but on the west are provided the plainest of projecting blocks, necessitated by the arrangement already mentioned, the nave being a little wider than the other arms, and the transept walls being slightly west of the west wall of the tower. The arches are of lancet form and of the very simplest design; in the centre of each flat soffit is a thin inner order resting on a filleted shaft. These are largely of granite, and the caps and bases suggest that this work may be owing to the recorded repairs carried out by bishop Lane in 1482.

The rubble walls are unplastered; the windows are all lancets, triplets at the ends, except that in the east bay of the nave there are simple openings of double lights.[1] The moulded inner arches rest on shafts which in some cases terminate in knots of foliage, in the beautiful and not unusual Irish way, instead of being continued to the sill. All the roofs are modern timber. Some of the modern glass is unusually good, with groundwork of Celtic coils instead of the more usual canopy patterns.

The quire was rebuilt and the rest restored from ruin by Street. Harris' edition of Ware's *Bishops* (1739)[2] says: 'The church of Kildare is for the most part in ruins, yet the walls are still standing, together with the south side of the steeple.' Grose[3] publishes a view of 'Kildare abbey' showing the south transept, the south

[1] Which suggest that the building was not finished by bishop Ralph.

[2] p. 379.

[3] i, p. 25 (1791).

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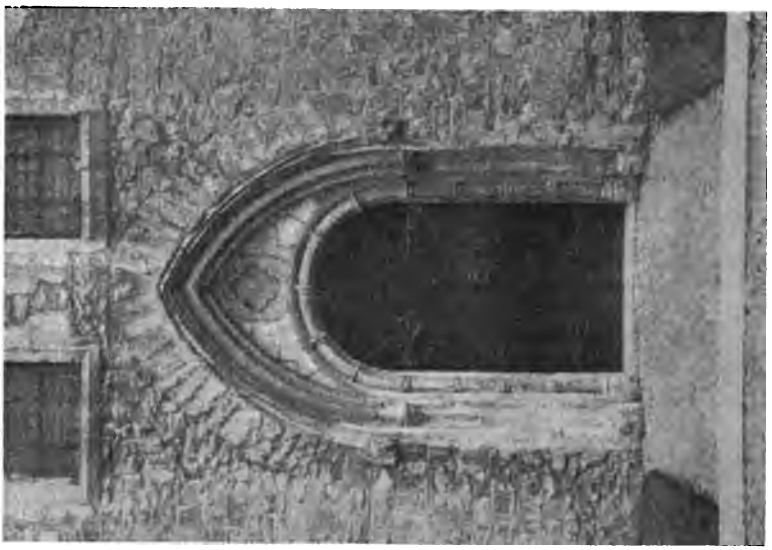

NO. 2. KILKENNY, NORTH TRANSEPT DOOR.

NO. 1. KILKENNY, WEST END OF NAVE.

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NO. I. LEIGHLIN CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

NO. 2. DERRY CATHEDRAL CHURCH LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

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side of the nave and the south wall of the tower intact. T. M. Fallow[1] gives an illustration showing the quire rebuilt by bishop Moreton in 1683 as very similar to work of about the same time still existing at Lismore[2]; there is a wretched 'gothic revival' steeple in the angle of the quire and north transept, touching the ruined middle tower. Though the church at present has a very modern look, it seems that the original lines have been strictly followed.

## TUAM.

The peculiarity of heavy external arches under the parapet is also found in the early-fourteenth-century quire of the cathedral at Tuam,[3] but on a less bold scale than at Kildare. This church is of much earlier origin, claiming St. Jarlath as its founder in the sixth century.[4] The oldest existing part is a small sanctuary that almost certainly belonged to the church built by O'Hoisin, abbot 1128–1150, and afterwards first archbishop. The sanctuary has a tunnel-vault of rubble in the ancient Irish style. In the east wall are three round-headed windows of equal height. Without they have a simple roll-moulding, and within they are splayed with plain Celtic patterns in low relief. The arch of triumph, as the approach to the chancel is still in Ireland sometimes called, is a well-known structure in five orders, built of red sandstone with large shafts and very rich ornament, including various mouldings, grotesque heads and interlacing coils. This arch long formed the chief entrance to the church and is much weathered, but it now opens into the sanctuary of the fine modern cathedral designed by Sir Thomas Deane in the style of the thirteenth century, a cruciform structure with central spire whose altar stands in the original position.

In the early years of the fourteenth century there was erected east of the chancel the quire already referred to. It is unconnected with the older part by an arch or even by a door. The three east windows of the older

[1] *Cathedral Churches of Ireland* (1894), reprinted from the *Reliquary*, p. 26.

[2] ibid. pp. 64–67.

[3] It occurs elsewhere in Ireland, for example at Holycross abbey.

[4] Though it is dedicated to St. Mary, Tempul Jarlath is a ruined church of the thirteenth century, standing a short distance to the east.

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sanctuary look straight into a narrow vestibule that forms a sort of low tower, open to the three bays of the quire by a very massive arch (in three chamfered orders without caps). The large windows have modern tracery,[1] and the roof is a plaster vault, but there remain an original wide sedile opening and a beautiful double piscina with foliage caps and deep-cut mouldings.[2] The appearance without is semi-military: the buttresses are very heavy with off-sets, and on the south trefoil-headed niches. Between them extend massive segmental arches on plain corbels, five across the east, and three between each pair of buttresses at the sides.[3]

## KILKENNY.

Outside Dublin the finest of Irish cathedrals is the beautiful church of St. Canice at Kilkenny, a structure worthy of note from the way in which it produces much of the true cathedral effect without either triforium or vaulting. Its site, on a low hill, does not seem to be mentioned in Irish records before 1085, when the *Four Masters* say: 'Ceall-Cainnigh was for the most part burned.' The round tower, which still stands by the south transept (fig. 15), is, however, in all probability a century or so earlier than that, while excavations in 1847 showed that it is built over graves which the workers did not wish to destroy. It is a structure of rubble, though of largish stones. Eight stories are marked by internal off-sets; the doorway, which faces away from the cathedral, has a round arch formed of three large stones that extend through the wall; all the other openings, including six wide windows at the top, are covered with lintels. The original cap has disappeared, and the present roof, which seems to be not much later than the rest, is of stone, constructed on the principle of a dome, but very nearly flat.

[1] Which is probably a copy of the old.

[2] This part now forms the chapter-house, and is fitted with beautiful stalls of inlaid work from Italy; they are dated 1740.

[3] For a time this quire was used as a fortress. See p. 128 of this volume.

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Preserved in the porch and built into walls of the existing cathedral are some fragments of an earlier Romanesque church whose foundations were found in 1845 at the east end, when they were cut through for the present walls.[1] The fragments display a sort of magnified nail-head, Celtic interlacing work and other patterns. The church is a fine cruciform structure with aisles to the nave and west part of the quire, south porch and transept chapels (fig. 16). It appears to have been built during the later part of the thirteenth century; the general

FIG. 15. KILKENNY CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

design being preserved, but the details greatly modified as the masons worked from east to west.[2]

The structure is of extreme simplicity and the rubble walls are unbuttressed except by corner pilasters, over which

[1] *History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny*, by Rev. James Graves and J. G. Augustus Prim; Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. (1857), 32. I have made considerable use of this work.

[2] 'Hugo de Mapilton (bishop of Ossory, 1251–1256) huius nomine secundus, primus fundator ecclesie istius Canici Kilkennie qui eandem primo edificare incepit, et quasi usque ad finem suis magnis sumptibus, laboribus, et expensis opus perfecit.' Geoffrey St. Leger (bishop, 1260–1286), 'Magnamque partem operis ecclesie istius Canici prius per Hugonem Mapleton incepti construxit,' and so was called 'Secundus fundator dicte ecclesie.' *Nomina episc. Ossorien.* E 3, 13, fol. 88, Trinity college, Dublin.

Champneys, however (appendix Y, p. 237),

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in the nave only rise little octagonal stone spires. The material is chiefly a local slate-coloured carboniferous limestone, which can be polished to look rather like Purbeck marble, but the details are largely of sandstone and there is no attempt at colour effects. In fact the limestone is hardly used for detail except in the tombs. The east end of the quire has a really magnificent effect; east, south and north three tall lancets pierce the walls, enriched

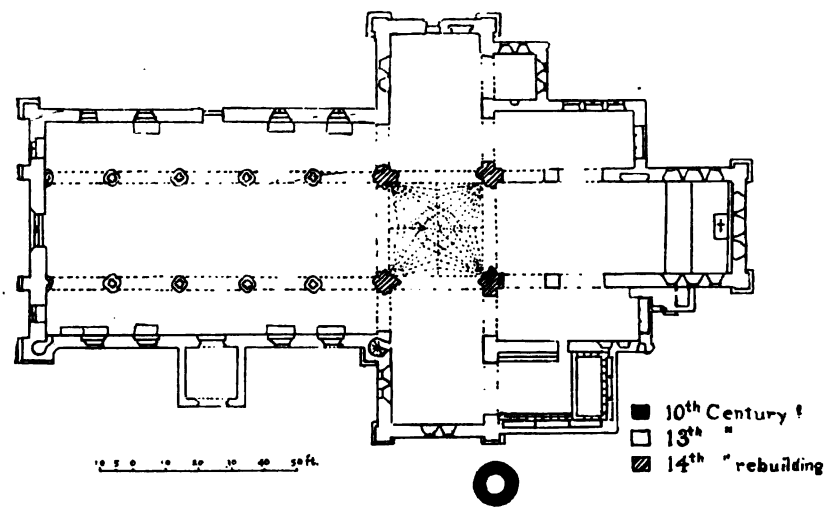


FIG. 16. PLAN OF KILKENNY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

with banded shafts and trefoil arches with dog-tooth on a large scale; the side lancets have round outer arches.

points out that this manuscript list of the bishops is due to bishop Rothe (d. 1650), who has certainly made some mistakes; and he adds: 'It would be incredible that Transition work was being built (not restored) after 1250 A.D. at Kilkenny by a bishop of English origin; so he attributes the quire and transepts of the cathedral to the first English bishop of the see, Hugh Rufus, 1202–1218.

From so very high an authority as Champneys, who has done more perhaps than any one else to increase our knowledge of Irish architecture, I differ with the utmost reluctance and diffidence, but it seems to me that the work is not 'Transition' but developed Gothic, despite the round-headed 'lancets' and the corner pilaster buttresses. The latter occur at Cashel with lancets that are *almost* round-headed (fig. 12), and in Ireland, as in Scotland, round arches can occur at any period. At Church Fenton, Yorkshire, the south transept has pilaster buttresses in connexion with a window consisting of two lancets with a quatrefoil above (very like the aisle windows at Kilkenny) that must be pretty late in the thirteenth century.

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The arches that open to the aisles both from transepts and quire are exceedingly plain, shafts or corbels to their inner orders and with the simplest block-piers. The transepts are lighted by tall shafted lancets in pairs, the side ones round-arched. The north transept is entered by a very remarkable door (plate 1, no. 2). A well-moulded outer lancet arch rests on shafts with foliage-caps, and within it, surmounted by a quatrefoil, is a round-arched opening surrounded by a thirteen-times-banded roll.

The five-bayed nave has beautiful quatrefoil pillars whose bases show a very pronounced water-moulding at the east end, but it gradually dies away toward the west. Some of the arch-mouldings are filleted. The clerestory is lighted by rather ineffective quatrefoils; the aisles by two-light windows, each a couple of lancets with quatrefoil above, and the comprising arches are trefoiled and rather flat within. A great triplet pierces the western wall; its middle lancet does not extend to the sill, but has below it, within, a little two-light opening, with shafts carrying trefoiled arches and a quatrefoil above, and three quatrefoils without (plate 1, no. 1). The only wall-passage in the church runs along this window (approached by a stair at the south-west corner of the aisle), but the tower is approached by a gable-topped turret that runs up the south transept from the south-east corner of the aisle. Under the west window is a very fine double doorway; the enclosing lancet-arch is sustained by double shafts with foliage-capitals; in the spandril between this arch and the two inner arches is a quatrefoil with an angel in a circle on each side, and each doorway has a cinquefoiled arch. Both porch doors and the north door of the nave have shafts, but they are much less ornate.

The transept chapels have the air of being after-thoughts, but they were evidently erected with the rest of the work. The northern one is small and very plain; in the north and east walls are double lancets, and in the south a remarkable piscina with the peculiarly Irish step-head. The southern chapel is a most striking piece of building from its lamp-like effect. Three triple lancets under large arches pierce the south wall and three two-

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light openings the east: all the arches rest on banded shafts.[1]

A common mediaeval misfortune befell the cathedral in 1332. 'Cecidit campanile Sancti Kannici, Kilkennie, et magnam partem chori, vestibulum capellarum, et campanas, et meremium confregit, die Veneris ii kal. Junii, unde horribile et miserabile spectaculum erat contuentibus.'[2] The necessary repairs, with much additional enrichment, were carried out in a very conservative spirit by bishop Ledred.[3] The present tower piers are clearly his work, parts of the original being retained. The shafts are filleted and have plain moulded caps except that thin extra corner shafts towards the nave have foliage. The arch mouldings die into the chamferings of the piers. Much later the space within the arches was vaulted with very complicated ribs (fig. 16) by bishop Hacket (1460–1478).[4] The tower at present rises only just above the ridges of the roofs. A low shingled spire, that seems to have been part of bishop Williams' restoration after 1660, appears in Grose's view (1, 33), but it was removed in 1851. John Pooley, bishop of Raphoe (d. 1712), left £120 towards raising the steeple thirty feet and repointing

[1] This chapel appears to have influenced the still more ornate lady-chapel of the priory of St. John in the city, which is called the lamp of Ireland. Its walls, consisting of little more than lancets in triplets with banded shafts between, produce much the same effect as some English work of the fifteenth century (for instance St. Mary's, Nottingham), different though the details are. Its date is exactly known. 'Anno m° cc° nonagesimo die annunciacionis beate marie celebrata fuit prima missa in capella beate marie in monasterio sancti iohannis in kylkenny.' *Liber Primus of Kilkenny*, in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, quoted by Champneys, p. 159. The chapel is now the only part of the church in use. The nave arcades of the cathedral seem also to have been imitated in the parish church of Thomastown, near Jerpoint abbey.

[2] *Annals of Ireland* by Friar John Clyn, p. 24.

[3] Ledred 'utcunque, sub finem anni 1354, in gratiam receptus est, et hac tempestate sedata (a quarrel with the king and a sorcery trial), reliquum aetatis in magna tranquillitate transegit, ecclesiam cathedralem hic multum ornavit, omnesque fenestras de novo erexit, ac vitro obduxit, inter quas enituit fenestra orientalis opere tam eximio adornata, ut in universa Hibernia par ei non inveniretur': *Hibernia sacra*, p. 144. Any repairs made to the actual stonework of the windows seem to have been carried out without change of detail. The famous glass lasted till the days of the commonwealth. In 1650 "the great, and famous, most beautiful Cathedral church of saint Keney, they have utterly defaced and ruined, thrown down all the Roof of it, taken away five great and goodly Bells, broken down all the windows, and carried away every bit of glass, that, they say, was worth a very great deal; and all the doors of it": Bishop Griffith Williams, *Prefatory Remonstrance; Seven Treatises. Very necessary to be observed in these very bad days:* London, 1661.

[4] Bishop Hacket 'testudinem praeterea campanilis Ecclesiae Canicanae, e polito lapide, erigi curavit': *Hibernia sacra*, p. 144.

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the round tower,[1] but nothing much seems to have been done, though in 1722 'Mr. Dean having produced in chapter several draughts of a dome to be erected over ye belfry, drawn by Captain Portall,' was desired to write him a letter of thanks.[2]

The burial of the dead within the walls of places of worship is distinctively Christian. From the sanitary point of view it may be open to objections, but aesthetically it has contributed enormously to the effectiveness of Gothic architecture. Most great churches in that style owe very much of their beauty to the stately tombs with their canopies and screens that do honour to the illustrious dead. Many sumptuous mosques suffer somewhat from the absence of anything of the kind. Of Irish cathedrals Kilkenny alone is rich in sepulchral memorials, and although these as individual works are rather crudely carved and in most cases moved from their original positions, the general effect they produce is superb.[3] Very little is before the sixteenth century.

The whole structure has been admirably restored to something like its original appearance and the new fittings and stained glass do much to enhance the general effect.[4] Notwithstanding, it is impossible not to mourn that the former classical fittings of the quire have been replaced by the work of the nineteenth century that tries to look six centuries older than it is. The modern timber roof seems a poor substitute for the one which Ware describes: 'The compass ceiling of the choir is chiefly remarkable for its fine fretwork; in which are a great number of curious modillions; and in the centre a group of foliage, festoons and cherubins; that excells anything of the kind I have seen.'[5] The combination of mediaeval and renaissance

[1] Chapter book A, p. 126.

[2] Chapter book, 1722, p. 186.

[3] An extraordinarily crude effigy to Honoria Schorthals with large two-peaked head-dress is dated 'mccccc,' left unfinished but afterwards filled in '96.' The greater part of Messrs. Graves and Prim's work is taken up with a description of the monuments, which were very neglected at the time they wrote. There is a most interesting collection of Celtic crosses and interlacing patterns. Some monuments which Graves and Prim do not mention were presumably concealed in their day.

[4] The mediaeval fittings seem to be confined to the font—which has fluting all round the square bowl, and crude conventional leaf-patterns in the corners by the round opening, evidently a relic of the old church—and a stone seat with arms that was possibly the throne. It is thirteenth-century work and called St. Chiarain's chair. Till the last restoration the east tower arch was filled by a stone screen pierced by a narrow door.

[5] *Bishops*, p. 434. The renaissance work in the quire was the work of bishop Thomas Otway (1679–1692).

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work is not in the least more incongruous than that of Romanesque and later Gothic, and the desperate and untruthful effort to deny in stone and wood that the renaissance ever touched Ireland seems a matter extremely to be deplored.

## KILLALOE.

For beauty of thirteenth-century detail the cathedral of St. Flannan at Killaloe is certainly unsurpassed in Ireland.[1] The building[2] is usually attributed to the same king of Munster who founded the cathedral at Limerick (p. 370), and Lord Dunraven quotes a letter to Petrie alleging that in 1827 the date 1182 was found on the east window. The triplet in question has the curious arrangement within that the two detached shafts which divide the lancets are carried straight up to the soffit of the great arch, which is adorned with a sort of herring-bone moulding. The jamb-moulds practically form clustered shafts and there are foliage-caps. A couple of shafted niches on either side, a string along the four lancets of both north and south walls, and roof-corbels with foliage and interlacing patterns all combine to produce a very rich effect.[3] The east lancets of quire and south

[1] Part of the church is earlier, but the only detail surviving is a very ornate Hiberno-Romanesque doorway in the south wall of the nave, richly adorned in four orders with zigzag having pellets and other complications, various floral designs, grotesque animals, chain moulding and carved shafts.

This is traditionally connected with the sovereign whose death is recorded in 1119 by the *Four Masters:* 'Muircheartach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, prop of the glory and magnificence of the west of the world, died, after the victory of reign and penance, on the festival of Machaemhog of Loath, on the 6th of the Ides of March, and was interred in the church of Cill-Dalua.' He had been crowned at Tara in 1100. The date exactly suits the style of the existing door, which seems to have been moved from its original position, as what was evidently the outer face is within the nave. The oft-repeated statement that it led to his tomb has not much element of probability.

[2] Which is cruciform without any chapels or aisles, 126 feet long; the north door of the nave opens outward and has a large bar-hole. Possibly it led into some chamber or other.

[3] There are good drawings of the details, plan, etc. in an article on this church by T. J. Westropp, in *R. Soc. Ant. of Ireland*, 1893, pp. 187–201. Although the central eastern 'lancet' is round-headed and the corners of the walls have pilaster-buttresses (forming quasi-turrets) it would not be easy to believe that the work was as early as 1182 even if it were in England. It is quite incredible that by the care of the same king these light and well-developed lancets were being built at the same time as the heavy and eminently 'Transition' work of the far more important cathedral of Limerick. The fact that the south transept is larger than the north, with

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transept have on the exterior very deeply cut early twelfth-century mouldings. All the other windows are lancets, and the west door has deep mouldings and banded shafts. The nave turrets have similar corner mouldings; on the east these mouldings are more like regular shafts and the quire has a sloping plinth.

The four middle arches are extremely plain, starting from the corners of the walls, and corbels sustain their thin inner orders, no larger than the ribs of the very plain quadripartite vault. A curious feature is that the nave and quire being wider than the transepts the central space is oblong, but the low tower (whose upper stage is modern) is carried up square, thus having a gallery just above the ridges of the roofs both north and south (fig. 3).

## LISMORE.

The cathedral of St. Carthach at Lismore is a small and aisleless cruciform building; the oldest part of which, the remains of a plinth and wall shaft incorporated into the south wall of the rather long quire, seems to date from about 1160. The far earlier original foundation is evidenced by various ancient stones built into the west wall, including a very tiny Celtic cross in memory of bishop Cormac who died in 918, and inscriptions for abbots of the century before. A very rude and small square font without a drain, which is still in use, is supposed to have belonged to the seventh century founder, Carthach.

The existing walls seem largely to be the work of the fourteenth century, although all the details except the buttresses and the four central arches are later.[1] The eastern arch appears to be the earliest, probably of the thirteenth century; it is pointed and springs from clustered shafts with dog-tooth on a very small scale. The other three arches are strangely varied but seem all to have been

other indications, seem to show that this church was not all built together. The *Four Masters* record a burning of the churches at Killaloe in 1185.

[1] I cannot understand Fergusson's statement (*Handbook of Architecture*, ii, 915), 'The cathedral of Lismore has entirely disappeared,' nor is it possible for the modern student to agree with his contemptuous remarks about Irish architecture, however much he may admire Fergusson's admirable work.

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erected in the course of the fourteenth century. The southern one is pointed and has clustered shafts with capitals carved in low relief. The west and north arches spring from semi-octagonal responds, but the latter is pointed and the former round. These arches would be greatly improved both in appearance and interest if they could be relieved from the thick whitewash by which they are encrusted.

A Magrath table-tomb of 1548 in the nave is an admirable example of the vigorous, but very rude, sculpture usual in Ireland of that date. On top is a large floreated cross and St. Gregory with the triple papal crown: the crucifixion, SS. Patrick, Katharine and Carthach with the apostles extend along the sides.

The restoration of the church in the early seventeenth century by Sir Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, is interestingly set forth in his letters. On 10th January, 1633, he wrote: 'God bless my good intendments and endeavors in this work. This day I resolved, with the assistance of my good God, to re-edifie the ancient cathedral ch. of Lismore wch was demolished by Edmund FitzGibbon, called the White Knight, and other traitors in the late rebellion of Mownster. The chancel of wch ch. I did at my own charges of £ccxvi. 13 and 9d. rebuyld, & put a new rooff, covered with slatt, and plaistered & glazed: then furnishing it with seated pews & pulpit: And now have given order to have the ruyns of the body and ile of that church cleered, & to have the same new built and re-edified, as fair, or fairer than ever it was before.' The orders were apparently not obeyed with much alacrity, and on 9th April, 1638, he wrote: 'God bless my good intencions. I this day began to enter on the pulling down of the ruyns of the old defaced chapels of Lismore wh was so ordered to be done by an act of the bp. dean and chap. with a godly resolucion to rebuyld the demolished cathl. ch. of Lismore.'[1]

Unfortunately it is impossible to discover any existing work that can be referred to this rebuilding, though the

[1] *Lismore Papers*, ser. i, vol. v, p. 46. Quoted in Fallow's *Cathedral Churches of Ireland*, p. 67.

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side windows of the transepts[1] are of late seventeenth-century character and it is evident some further works were undertaken at that time. Bishop Gore of Waterford in 1690 left £200 to provide a ring of bells and to beautify the quire. A view of 1739 shows a central octagon in the style of the period which has disappeared in another view of 1774.[2] Nearly all the existing details, including the plaster vaults and the western spire, belong to the early years of the nineteenth century.

## CLOYNE.

The marvellous beauty of the best work of the fourteenth century in England, so superbly represented, for instance, in the quire of Selby abbey, is in Ireland almost unknown, and the commonplace and towerless cathedral at Cloyne, built within that period, is remarkable as showing how very poor a stucture could suffice for the mother church of an ancient and not unimportant diocese. The fabric is a sort of reduced reproduction of the collegiate church of Youghal (fig. 17). It consists of nave and aisles of four bays, transepts and quire. The plain chapter-house, projecting northwards from the last, is entered by a narrow door skewed through the wall as far east as possible to avoid interference with the stalls. The whole exterior is refaced, and the monotonous expanse of slate roof, unbroken by any clerestory, gives a very poor general effect: the removal of all the battlemented parapets, which was done in 1705,[3] still further spoils the look of the church.

The interior is entirely plastered and hardly an original feature is to be seen. The nave is separated from its aisles by plain pointed arches simply pierced through the walls, the square piers between being without capitals

[1] Each with two round-headed lights and a circle under a round arch.

[2] Both reproduced by Fallow, pp. 64 and 66.

[3] *Annals of the Cathedral of St. Coleman, Cloyne*, by Dr. Caulfield, F.S.A. (Purcell & Co. Cork, 1882), p. 22. No part of the existing church seems to me earlier than the latter part of the fourteenth century, though a higher antiquity has been claimed. The refacing or plastering of everything makes it most difficult to speak with any precision.

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or any other feature save that the edges are bevelled off. There are arches from the central space to nave and transepts but not to the quire. The east window is of five lights with net tracery; all the other windows are lancets, mostly grouped, the end wall of the south transept having apparently been pierced originally by five lancets divided by mullions, the central one trefoiled. The very plain north door of the nave is marked by a little head, a tiny quatrefoil within a quatrefoil, and very simple ornaments at the foot of the bevelling, here reproduced (fig. 17). These seem more like the idle and extempore

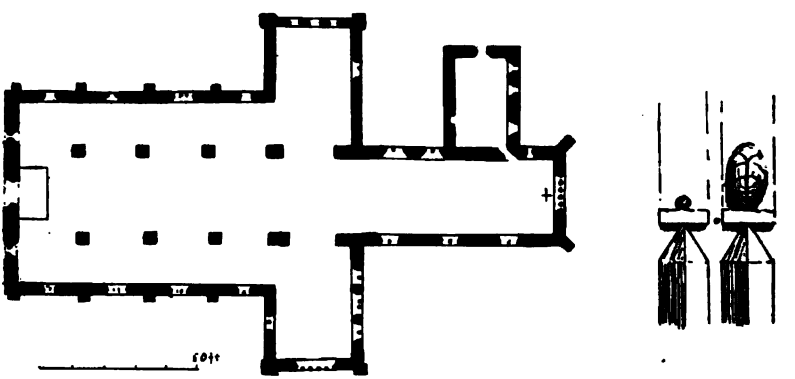

FIG. 17. PLAN OF CLOYNE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND DETAILS OF NORTH DOOR.

embellishments of a mason than any serious part of the design.[1]

In the eighteenth century there was erected under the arch opening from the nave to the transept a striking screen with gateway surmounted by a gable and furnished with large Ionic pilasters, a feature reminding one of several college chapels at Oxford and Cambridge. Fallow (p. 43) gives an illustration of this work in its original position; it has most unhappily been removed to the west end to form a rather meaningless porch. Its

[1] There is a description of this church by T. J. Westropp in *R. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1897, pp. 334–340. I am indebted to him for the plan.

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date must be about the time of the famous George Berkeley, who was bishop here 1734–1753.[1]

## ARMAGH.

A very great disappointment is in store for the antiquary who, without previous knowledge, visits the metropolitan church of all Ireland, the primatial cathedral at Armagh, the burial place of the renowned Brian Boru, where was preserved the famous *bachal Isa* or staff of Jesus, which had been used as a crozier by St. Patrick himself.

The *Four Masters*, under the year 457, relate the building of the town by St. Patrick's care. He ordered twelve men 'to erect an archbishop's city there, and a church for monks, for nuns, and for the other orders in general, for he perceived that it would be the head and chief of the churches of Ireland in general.' The tripartite life of St. Patrick (said to have been written by St. Evin in the sixth century) adds the information that the form, style and length of the church were prescribed by an angel.[2] In 1125 the *Four Masters* tell of the complete re-roofing of the church after 130 years of partial ruin. In 1268 they relate a rebuilding by primate Gillapatrick O'Scanlain, whose work is evidently to be found in the existing transepts. They have lancets at the sides and three-light traceried windows at the ends. One lancet on the south, very plain, splayed but without shafts, seems to be original; all the rest is concealed by

[1] A superb recumbent effigy of this prelate, by Bruce Joy, was placed in the north transept in 1890.

In the yard are foundations of a Celtic chapel, about 34 by 23 feet. It is called St. Colman's firehouse, from the founder, whose death the *Four Masters* record in 600. In the north transept is a not very early bas-relief of the crucifixion found on the site of the chapel. A more interesting relic of Celtic times is a round tower, west of the church, separated from the yard by a road. The masonry is a sort of compromise, large smooth stones laid in fairly regular courses but giving the impression of rubble rather than ashlar. The stone is of reddish colour, but two-thirds of the way up a band is made by about three courses of greyer stone. The doorway (on the south-east, facing the cathedral), as usual some feet above the ground, and the four look-out windows at the top are covered by lintels; some of the other openings are triangular-headed. Instead of the proper cap the top is furnished with Irish battlements that seem to date from repairs made in 1683. It is astonishing how ineffective these round towers become when deprived of their appropriate roofs.

[2] The length was to be 140 feet.

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the refacing without and plastering within that was carried out in 1834 by primate lord J. G. Beresford.[1] Besides the transept the church consists of quire of three bays and nave with aisles of five (fig. 18). The quire is in the style of the fourteenth century and may have been erected by primate Miles Sweetman (d. 1380). The nave and its aisles form a good specimen of the style of the early fifteenth century. The oblong clustered pillars have ten shafts apiece, the outer ones filleted as is so commonly the case in Ireland. The arches are well

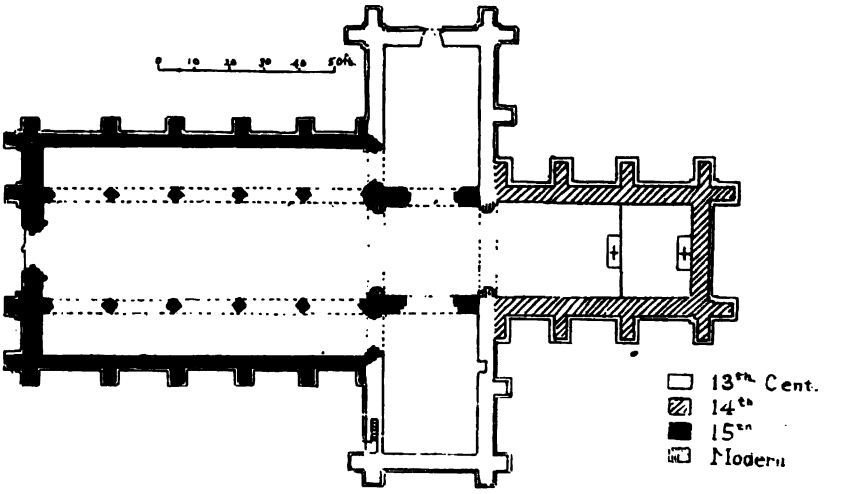


FIG. 18. PLAN OF ARMAGH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

moulded and even in their present plastered condition by no means without a certain dignity. The aisles have

[1] A member of the chapter told me that it was recently proposed to attempt to restore the original stonework in the interior, but that the removal of the plaster showed that it was in a very decayed condition and that it had been covered with a thick coat of tar to keep in the damp. Almost the only parts of the interior that look old are the north and south arches of the tower, the others having not long ago been rebuilt to open out the view. Primate Robinson, lord Rokeby of Armagh (1765–1794), however, in the late eighteenth century tried to build a replica of Magdalen tower in the middle of the church, but was obliged to desist, as the north-west pier gave way and had to be reconstructed. In 1786 he built the present low and feeble tower and unfortunately never began his scheme of erecting his Magdalen steeple as an addition to the west end. He was a great benefactor to the city, founding the library and the observatory.

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three-light windows; those of the clerestory are of two lights and splayed downwards.[1]

## DOWNPATRICK.

The cathedral at Downpatrick, notable for its association with the three most famed of Irish saints,[2] formed the church of a great Benedictine house that stood just west of the town. The whole of the buildings have disappeared except that there still stand the walls of the clerestory and aisles of the quire, dating from about 1400.[3] These were incorporated when in 1789 the rebuilding was commenced in the bastard Gothic of that time, chiefly by the care of the earl of Hillsborough, first marquess of Downshire. It had lain in ruin since the abbey was burned in 1538, by a lord deputy of Ireland.

The east front is supported by heavy square stair turrets between centre and aisles; between them a door opens to a small vault-like crypt, and above the window, which, like all the rest, is of nondescript Gothic type, are three trefoiled niches with statues of SS. Patrick, Bridget and Columba. The block piers within have single jamb shafts and ornately moulded arches; the east responds have triple shafts. Some of the capitals are of the greatest beauty with very natural foliage, grotesque animals and so on, certainly unsurpassed in Ireland. Unfortunately plaster and whitewash make it difficult to distinguish what is really mediaeval and what dates from the restoration. The present vaulting is but lath and plaster, and the restorers showed deplorable ignorance of the style in which they essayed to build; nevertheless the west screen surmounted by the organ, and the stalls extending the whole length, giving the effect of a college chapel, brightened up by some fair glass and coloured coats of arms, all combine to produce so cheerful and striking a general impression that criticism is largely disarmed. One would hardly credit how far

[1] A number of fine monuments, none of ancient date, with several flags help to give the interior a cheerful effect.

[2] See p. 107 of this volume.

[3] I arrived at this period from a careful study of the base-mouldings. Fallow (p. 13) gives the date about 1412, but unfortunately does not mention his authority. Presumably he had documentary evidence.

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the spirit of a Gothic interior could be realised with details so shockingly bad. In some ways at least the effect is superior to that of the pitch-pine and machine-made details that were so much admired in the sixties.[1]

While the restoration works were actually in progress, during 1793, the ancient round tower was destroyed in a rowdy election riot[2]; its place is most indifferently supplied by the square steeple which in 1826 was erected, partly on the site of the old middle tower.

## LEIGHLIN.

A most interesting example of very Gothic work is presented in the small and rather remotely situated cathedral of Old Leighlin (co. Carlow), a church which was remodelled and to a great extent rebuilt by Matthew Sanders, bishop 1527–1549, a prelate who supported the reformation, though he had been appointed by the pope. The most curious feature of the building (plate II, no. 1) is that it exactly follows the plan which in Ireland is usual in the churches of friars. The aisleless nave has transepts at its eastern end; a 'tunnel tower' rises over the west end of the quire whose very large north chapel communicates only by a door. The original building is usually attributed to bishop Donat (1158–1185), but the only detail which suits his period is a plain lancet in the south wall of the quire which at present lights the lower part of the tower. There are some very beautiful details of the thirteenth century. The quire has four trefoiled sedilia with shafts and exquisite deep-cut mouldings. In the south wall are two three-light windows, one of them having three lancets under a larger arch and the other intersecting mullions. The west door of the nave has deep mouldings in two orders with shafts to the outer one; this is worked in granite, as is much of the other detail.

[1] The parish church of Hillsborough, built from the ground by the same nobleman who restored the cathedral in 1774, is also a surprisingly good piece of eighteenth-century Gothic. A stately avenue of trees leads up to the tall west spire, and other towers rise at each end of the transepts, thus forming a most unusual design.

[2] The tower appears in the view of the building given by Grose on the title-page of his first volume.

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The dark and nearly windowless nave is divided into three bays by buttresses; in the furthest bay east are lancet arches with plain bevelled double orders, the inner rising from filleted shafts. Of the south transept nothing remains: the north transept is a roofless ruin. A western lancet and an eastern shafted niche are doubtless original; three later windows were probably inserted when the church was reconstructed by bishop Sanders. Leaving the eastern banded shafts that enclosed the original east window, probably a triplet, he inserted between them a structure of four lights, transomed and with intersecting mullions, flat round-arched heads to the

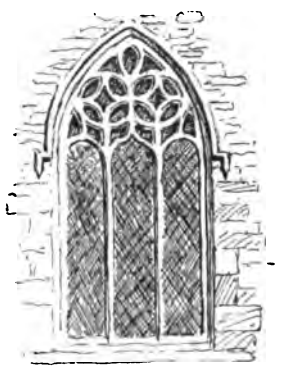

FIG. 19.
EAST WINDOW OF CHAPEL.

FIG. 20.
NORTH SIDE OF WEST TOWER ARCH.

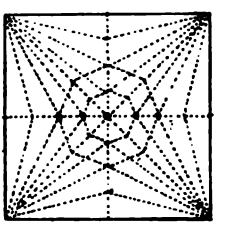

FIG. 21.
TOWER VAULT.

LEIGHLIN CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

lights being provided below. The outer dripstone rises to a little figure.

At or about the same time a large and very lofty chapel was added on the north side of the quire. It is extremely plain but remarkable for the possession of a very unusual east window of three lights, the central one ogee-headed, the others round and without any cusps.[1] The tracery seems an attempt to revert to the forms of the fourteenth century, and there are shafts within. The exterior is illustrated in fig. 19.

[1] This chapel is roofless in the view published by Ledwich (*Antiquities*, p. 255) which also shows a low spire with large vane.

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It seems to have been bishop Sanders who inserted a 'tunnel tower' over the west end of the quire. It is very similar to those steeples that in nearly every case were erected within the churches of Irish friaries. So much narrower is it than the church as to have a little sloping roof each side, and under these are the usual arched recesses north and south. It was not desired, however, to shut off the view more than could be helped, and the east and west arches have their jambs cut away, so to speak, as far as was considered safe (fig. 20). A very ornate vault,[1] exactly reproducing that erected by bishop Hacket in the cathedral of Kilkenny (p. 386), only a few miles off, except that being considerably smaller the Leighlin vault omits one pair of ribs in each segment (fig. 21). In front of this tower, but not (as is usual in friary churches) extending into it, was a large timber rood-loft which blocked up the west tower arch and both the arches that open into the transepts. Two of the corbels that supported it are still to be seen on each side of the tower arch and also, on a lower level, two others west of the transept arches.

## LISBURN.

The cathedral at Lisburn, built in 1622, is a poor and uninteresting structure on the whole, but the tower is a fairly good specimen of the revived Gothic of the age. Its windows have three lancets each, under single arches, the top of the central lancet joined to the keystone by a short bar.[2] This particular form of window was reproduced at the neighbouring cathedral at Dromore, built by bishop Jeremy Taylor (d. 1667), but all except his southern wall and part of the tower have been renewed in the dreariest style.

[1] For some rather inscrutable reason the design of the tower vault is one of the ornaments on the altar-tomb of William O'Brien, who died 17th January, 1569–1570. His wife was a Kavanagh, but the date of her death is left blank. A loose stone has a more ornate plan for the vault.

[2] In the eighteenth century were added four spiky pinnacles and a tall stone spire. The church has been transformed since it was built and is a simple oblong chamber with galleries on three sides. The only object of special interest is a bas-relief to the memory of John Nicholson.

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## DERRY.

In the cathedral of St. Columb at Derry, erected by the citizens of London in 1633, we have one of the most interesting examples that exist of the restored Gothic of Jacobean age.[1] In type it is an ordinary parish church, west tower and nave with aisles. The most distinguishing feature is the existence of rood turrets at so late a date. These project from the aisle walls and seem to have contained stairs to the galleries.[2] The parapets of both aisles and clerestory have battlements of English character; the windows are under very flat arches and have cusped lights, triple everywhere except in the south aisle where they are quadruple. The exterior might at first sight be taken for a church in the last age of true Gothic, say about 1500.

The arcades within seek to reproduce the work of a rather earlier age; the arches are of lancet form with rather thin mouldings. The octagonal pillars have rather lean moulded caps and bases, with the curious peculiarity of being banded about a foot below the caps[3] (plate II, no. 2). The five-light transomed east window has a sharply pointed arch and rather good tracery of fifteenth-century type. The original stonework is set up in the present chancel, which is modern. The tower dates only from 1805; it contains the famous 'No surrender' cannon-ball.

## CORK.

The ancient cathedral at Cork has entirely disappeared, and on its site stands a beautiful structure by W. Burgess which, except for its three tall spires, seems largely to be modelled on Lisieux. The Roman Catholic cathedral

[1] Its chief rival is St. John's church at Leeds.

[2] The latest example of rood turrets leading to a regular rood-loft, apart from modern revivals, seems to be in the extremely interesting Elizabethan church at Standish, Lancs. Different parts are dated 1584–1589, and the details are a most curious mixture of Gothic and Renaissance.

[3] Possibly these bands show Irish influence, for this kind of thing is much more usual in Irish than in English mediaeval work. Otherwise the church shows no decipherable native features.

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at Killarney, a severe example of the English thirteenth-century style, cruciform with tall central spire, is on the whole Pugin's most satisfactory piece of work. Other cathedrals, both Anglican and Roman, are of considerable interest to the student of the Gothic revival, but the antiquary is not otherwise concerned with them than in so far as he must sincerely regret the fact that they are all alike in utterly refusing to be influenced by the ancient architecture of Ireland.

The wayfarer whose ideal of a mediaeval cathedral refuses to move far from the stately structures of Lincoln and Notre-Dame may leave Ireland entirely unsatisfied, but whoever is willing to see in the cathedrals of a nation some echo of that nation's past, and realises the vast diversity in the circumstances of different European lands in mediaeval days, will find the ancient cathedrals of Ireland as interesting a collection of churches as is to be found on the surface of the globe.

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# PROCEEDINGS AT MONTHLY MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

## Wednesday, 3rd November, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A. President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A. F.S.A. read a paper on the will of Master William Doune, archdeacon of Leicester, which is printed at page 233 of the *Journal*.

In the discussion there spoke Archdeacon Hutton, Mr. L. M. May, Mr. R. Garraway Rice, Mr. H. D. Ellis and the Chairman.

Mr. May drew attention to the testator's attempts to create successive limited interests in his bequests of books. Such a practice was unknown to the common law, as an action for detinue would not lie, and so far as he knew no provision for such dispositions was to be found in the canon law.

Mr. Rice thought it impossible to say with certainty that the testator possessed no real property. In the middle ages it was the practice to dispose of land by a will and to bequeath personalty by testament, the two having gradually become merged into one instrument before the middle of the seventeenth century.

## Wednesday, 1st December, 1915.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Ian C. Hannah, M.A. read a paper on Irish Cathedrals, with lantern illustrations.

This paper is printed in the *Journal* at page 343.

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## NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

BAMFF CHARTERS A.D. 1232–1703, with introduction, biographical summary and notes. Edited by Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY, bart. of Bamff. 9½×7, viii+392 pp. 3 plates. Oxford University Press, 1915. 15s. n.

Bamff, which the Southron may be warned not to confuse with the county town of Banff, lies some three to four miles north of Alyth, near the boundary of the counties of Perth and Forfar. By charter of 9th October, 1232, the lands of Kynkel, Petdreyne, Ardormyne and Banefe in the fee of Alyth, and the lands of Foyl were granted to master Neis, the king's physician, by Alexander II. Neis, a name which appears in these charters in the Latin forms Nessus, Nisius and Nicasius, and in the vernacular forms Neis, Nesche, Nethe or Neche and Nech, is reported to have obtained this reward for the service of cutting a hair-ball from his royal master's heart. In 1534, when, in the time of his descendant in the twelfth generation, Alexander Ramsay of Bamff, a dispute arose concerning the boundary between Bamff and the hill of Alyth, it was stated that upon the north side of a cross called the Red cross, standing upon that hill, there was 'ane picture of ane scheir with the manner of ane ball within the plaits and schering of the sheiris with ane flourdelyce assendand up to the pictour of ane mans heid at the hycht of the cross.' Whatever may be the truth of this legend, and although the actual relationship between Neis and his immediate descendants cannot be stated with absolute certainty, there is at any rate a strong probability that the Ramsays of Bamff, now represented by the historian Sir James Henry Ramsay, tenth baronet, originally came into Scotland from Ramsey in Huntingdonshire in the service of king David I, who was earl of Huntingdon, and that master Neis founded the fortunes of the family as landed proprietors. Their 'place of Banf' appears, from the inventory of the goods of Alexander Ramsay, who died in or about 1535, to have been a small manor-house with the plainest appointments; but George, the grandson of Alexander, seems, after his accession to the estate in 1580, to have enlarged or rebuilt the house. In 1595 the chief estate is described as 'the Manes of Banff, tour, fortales, maner place, ortcheardes'; and the tower here mentioned forms the nucleus of the present mansion. In the Crown charter granted to George Ramsay in the same year, the annual value of the barony of Bamff, hitherto rated at £40, is doubled. Gilbert, the grandson of George, was made a baronet in 1666, as a reward for the deeds of his son James at the battle of Rullion green.

The documents calendared by Sir James Ramsay in this handsome and well-printed volume begin with the charter granted to master Neis, of which an excellent photographic facsimile is given, and end in the year 1703, some six years after the death of Sir Gilbert Ramsay. They are arranged in chronological order and in sixteen sections corresponding to the sixteen heads of the family during the four and a half to five centuries which they cover. No documents of the second and fourth generations remain, and it is at these points that the pedigree becomes somewhat obscure.

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From the beginning of the fifteenth century they begin to increase in number, and those of the next two hundred years are full of interest. Each section is prefaced by biographical and explanatory notes, succinct and full of information, which are invaluable as connecting and elucidating the various documents.

Much of the material thus collected from the Bamff muniments is mainly of interest to the Scottish genealogist and topographer. The general student, however, will be glad to possess a volume which sets forth so clearly, by a judicious arrangement of the actual instruments, the descent and growth of a Scottish estate. Sir James calls attention to such differences between English and Scottish feudal law as the payment of avail by a tenant-in-chief upon his heir's marriage, as specified in the Crown charter of 1595. The book naturally abounds in legal terms unfamiliar to the English reader, and, although many of these are explained in the prefatory matter to each section, a short glossary and index of the more uncommon might have been added to the indices of names and places with advantage. Much matter is furnished illustrative of agricultural prices, particularly with regard to oats and barley, and a comparative table of the values of English and Scots currency from 1355 to 1601, taken from R. W. Cochran-Patrick's *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, is given in an appendix. More personal interest is supplied by some of the documents. No. 13, a marriage-contract between Gilbert, son of Alexander Ramsay of Woodwrae and grandson of Finlay Ramsay of Bamff, and Margaret, daughter of Sir James Ogilvy of Airlie, in 1482, provides for the payment of 190 marks of dower by the bride's father, the first fifty marks of which were to go to the redemption of the lands of Easter Mawes, to be settled on the young couple. The parents of both parties engage to pay forty marks in equal shares of twenty each 'to the suportacion of the said Gilbert and Margaret to fill a tyk to thair owne ouse utilite and prophet,' and Sir James Ogilvy undertakes to board the pair and keep his daughter in clothes for a year after the marriage. An inventory (no 47a) of the goods of Gilbert and Margaret's grandson Alexander illustrates the extreme simplicity of the appointments of a small 'manor place' early in the sixteenth century, and may be compared instructively with the much more elaborate inventory, some hundred years later, of master Samuel Ramsay, minister of Montrose, presumably a great-grandson of the austerely provided Alexander (no. 195). Perhaps the most curious document printed here, occurring at a time when the general interest of the family deeds has declined in proportion to their plentifulness, is a contract (no. 278) made in 1667 between the first baronet and his son James, by which the father, 'for certane good deid done be the said James to the said Sir Gilbert' and for other causes, undertakes, in case of the pre-decease of his wife Elizabeth, to give the son possession of the lands and barony of Bamff, and reduce the life-rent of the estate reserved to himself in his son's marriage-contract of the previous year to a sum of 800 marks and 'thrie chalders meall victuall' yearly. It appears that at any rate James Ramsay was prepared to exact a price for the baronetcy which his doings had gained for his father in 1666. Whether Sir Gilbert was actually willing to dispossess himself is uncertain, but it is significant that a provision is made whereby, if he 'after his said Ladyes decease can nocht agrie in familie with his said sone, in that caice it shall be leisume and laufull to him to mak choyse off any maner duelling place and house upon any part

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of the said lands.' Dame Elizabeth died some twenty-one to twenty-five years later: her husband survived till 1696 or 1697.

It has already been noted that a glossary of legal terms would be a desirable addition, and this applies also to other obsolete words in which the text abounds. Some of these terms are insufficiently explained, and the interpretation of 'post pan and gryt tymmer,' mentioned in a tack or lease of the lands of Easter Mawes in 1636 (no. 218), as referring to the door-posts, wall-plates and rafters of the houses on the estate is too summary. 'Post' more probably is a general term for the upright timbers or the framework of the building, 'pan' is the boarding for panelling or wainscot, while 'gryt tymmer' corresponds to the Latin *grossum meremium*, large timbers for the ceiling and other necessary uses. Some of the terms in Samuel Ramsay's inventory (no. 195) need further comment. The 'twa great tables wrocht weill in Holland, the ane of the historie of Abrahame feasting the angells, the ather of the historie of Isaak and Jacob' were probably tapestries. The 'Flanders back' is more likely to have been a Flemish fire-back than a Dutch oven. 'Twa sasters,' explained as possibly dishes or ashets, look more like bowls or saucers. 'Damas dirnik' is interpreted as 'diaper-damask': it might have been noted that the actual meaning is Tournai damask, 'dirnik' being one of the many forms, such as 'dornick' and 'darnex,' into which the Flemish Doornyk was corrupted in English.

A strange passage occurs in the certificate of the pedigree of one John Ramsay, who in 1623 was in the service of Gustavus Adolphus (no. 181). It is stated that his father was captain Alexander Ramsay, 'qui regias secutus partes bello civili virtutis documenta egregia dedit, maxime quod arcem Britanne (sic) diruensem munitissimam expugnevit.' There can be little doubt that the somewhat indefinite wording may be taken to mean that Alexander had served on the side of Henry IV in the French civil war and had taken part in the storming of a strong fortress in Brittany. The modern copy from which the document is printed is not unimpeachably accurate, and the word 'diruensem' is obviously wrong. Sir James Ramsay on p. 187 quotes it as 'dimensem,' while failing to explain it. Probably the word is really 'diniensem,' and the allusion is evidently to the storming of Dinan, which would be appropriately described as 'arcem Britannie munitissimam,' by the forces of Henry IV of France in 1598. 'Dinanensem' would be the more correct form, and probably 'diniensem' was the original copyist's error.

The documents, Latin and English, appear to be transcribed with great accuracy. Comparing the grant to master Neis in 1232 with the reproduction of the original charter, we notice a want of uniformity in the extension of proper names. If 'Petdreyn'' and 'Ardormyn'' are extended as 'Petdreyne' and 'Ardormyne,' 'Banef' should not be left as 'Banef,' and 'Meyners'' as 'Meyners,' while the extension of 'Mar'' is not 'Marr' but 'Mare.' In addition to the reproduction of this charter, illustrations of three seals are given. There is an excellent index of persons, but we observe the omission of several names from the index of places. On p. 36 an unnecessary question is raised with regard to the pontifical year of pope Innocent VIII mentioned in the text. If the pontificate of Innocent is reckoned from his coronation on 12th September, 1484, he had entered upon his fourth year in November, 1487, and the text is therefore perfectly right. Those who remember Ramorny, the villain of Scott's *The Fair*

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*Maid of Perth*, will remark with interest the name of 'Dominum Johannem de Remorgeny militem' in a charter (no. 10) granted by Robert, duke of Albany, at Falkland, names which also recall the incidents of the romance.

A. H. T.

BYZANTINE AND ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE. By Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, R.A. 9¾×7¼, xx+274+viii+285 pp. 165 plates and 148 illustrations in the text. Cambridge: University Press. 1913. 42s. n.

Beginning with an introduction, the author deals first with Roman architecture, especially in its later stages, tracing its decline, and the rise of Byzantine architecture, especially as exemplified in Santa Sophia. He then deals with the Iconoclast movement, later Byzantine, Italo-Byzantine, Lombardic and Venetian architecture; notices of Pisa, Florence and Lucca bringing the first volume to a close. The second volume begins with German Romanesque and passes on to French Romanesque, divided under the local heads of Aquitaine, Provence, Toulouse, Burgundy, Auvergne, Normandy and the Île-de-France. Next the author treats of English Romanesque, both before and after the Norman conquest, and then sums up, his work ending with a chronological list of examples, and finally an index.

A highly important feature of the work consists of the illustrations, a large proportion of which is from original drawings, some few of them by the author's son, but the greater number by himself. Some of them were drawn more than fifty years ago, and thus furnish valuable records of buildings since altered or improved away. Thus a drawing of the exterior of the south side of Le Puy cathedral shows a charming little chapel of the fourteenth century, no longer in existence. Delightful, indeed, are the facsimile reproductions of pencil sketches; and there are four in colour from water-colour drawings, namely, details of the interiors of St. Demetrius at Salonica, of San Vitale at Ravenna and of the apse at Parenzo, and lastly of the exterior of the cloister at Le Puy cathedral. To do justice to the chromatic decoration in each of these cases coloured illustrations are absolutely indispensable. A limited quantity of the illustrations is from photographs; and the work includes a certain number of sections and plans to scale.

Plate III in the first volume, a capital from St. Demetrius at Salonica, gives an excellent representation of two characteristic Byzantine features, (1) the so-called 'wind-blown' foliage of the capital, and (2) the impost-block (technically known as the dosseret, or pulvino) planted on the summit of the capital and intervening between the latter and the superstructure. The author attributes the introduction of the dosseret to the necessity of making a shaft, with a Corinthian, or Corinthianesque capital, carry a bulk of wall in excess of the diameter of its own abacus. Such a motive may indeed have stereotyped the dosseret, when once its structural possibilities had been recognised, but is it not rather a survival of the moribund entablature of classic times? Such certainly is the meaning of the strange, late-Roman conglomeration at the springing of the vaults in the baths of Caracalla (begun A.D. 216), the baths of Diocletian (*c.* 300), and the basilica of Maxentius (306). Compare the feature in question with the similar detail

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of the façade of the arch of Constantine (A.D. 312), and the identity of the entablature in all four cases alike will admit of no doubt whatever. And yet from these to the dosseret of San Vitale at Ravenna (begun 541) is but a step. Mr. Statham, in his *Short Critical History of Architecture*, offers another explanation of the dosseret. According to him it was in origin only a device to bring capitals on columns of various heights to one level, a very necessary expedient when the practice became common of re-using columns, etc. from older despoiled buildings.

The impossibility of dating with absolute confidence buildings produced under such ultra-conservative traditions as those of Byzantium is exemplified by the famous Church of the Apostles at Salonica, which is variously ascribed by Texier to the seventh, by Rivoira to the eleventh, and by Diehl to the fourteenth century—a difference of seven centuries. One or other of these three attributions must be very wide of the mark. The question is, which.

In the course of his work Sir Thomas Jackson repeatedly has occasion to speak of mosaics; and in volume i, chapter 4, trenchantly exposes the futility 'of the plan, common in modern times, of tracing the pattern reversed on linen, and glueing the tesserae face downwards on it, and then pressing the whole into the cement, so that till the mosaic is set and the linen removed, the artist never sees the face of his work.' Mosaic is essentially a mobile art, and every separate cube has a relation to the rest, and should be fixed, not with mechanical precision in one even plane, but just where it may catch the glint of light and display most effectually its radiant qualities. Such work necessarily demands to be executed by an artist who not only watches all the time the effect of what he is doing but works *in situ*. No other method of executing mosaic is of the smallest avail.

In his preface the writer remarks that whenever he has to describe a building that he has not personally seen, the fact will usually be noted, since second-hand information is unprofitable. He is careful to point out that the reason why he has omitted all reference to buildings in Sicily and south Italy is because he has never visited those parts. In some cases, however, of buildings which he has visited, he seems to rely on memory, proverbially treacherous, instead of on written memoranda. Thus, speaking of the church of Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand, he calls the windows of the triforium gallery 'small slits.' Now this description might lead one to suppose that the windows are mere narrow loops, whereas they are in fact of the respectable width of some 12 or 15 inches. Again he speaks of the triforium arcade in the same building as consisting of 'horse-shoe trefoiled arches,' in such a way that might imply that the triforium arcade is of this pattern throughout; whereas it occurs only in some of the bays on the south side, and not at all on the north side of the building. He rightly records the presence of the same feature also at Issoire.

The artistic effects obtained by the grouping of external parts, though not, of course, a point which the Romanesque builders had particularly in view, is, nevertheless, a subject not to be overlooked. 'Six towers is the full complement of a Rhenish church of the first rank, and this is the number at Worms, Speyer, Laach and Mainz. All these churches (except Laach, which is a little later) date from the first half of the eleventh century, though they have been altered to some extent in the twelfth century and afterwards.' The plan reached its culmination in the seven-tower scheme in two buildings of very different character, but virtually contemporary, viz.

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Limburg on the Lahn (1213–1242) and Rheims cathedral (1211–1295). Both these churches, however, are outside the scope of the present work.

Referring incidentally (vol. ii, p. 190) to the church of St. Regulus, or Rule, at St. Andrews, Fife, the author says: 'The tower . . . has a strange likeness to the Lombard campanile, and might have been transplanted bodily from Italy.' The resemblance, however, is rather superficial than real. That which differentiates the Scottish example is the fact not only that it is not a detached tower but also that it is a middle tower between nave and chancel. The nave, it is true, no longer exists, but that it did exist and that it did form an integral part of the scheme of the building does not admit of doubt. From the context the author would obviously imply that St. Regulus' tower stands at the west end of the nave.

In the matter of the vaulting of Durham cathedral nave, Sir Thomas Jackson observes that 'the stone vault, which is thoroughly developed with rib and panel construction, is supposed by some to have been finished before 1133. I think it more probably dates from the thirteenth century, or at the earliest from the time of bishop Pudsey (1153–1195), the builder of the Galilee.' Incidentally there never was a bishop of Durham of the name of Pudsey. His name was de Puiset, and it is only due to pedigree-forgers of Elizabethan days that the bishop ever came to be misnamed. As to the early date for the vaulting, Sir Thomas Jackson only names one authority, viz. Canon Greenwell. The point is one of particular interest to members of the Institute, who have been wont to pride themselves that a distinguished member of their body, Mr. John Bilson, had conclusively vindicated the claims of the Durham builders to have introduced rib vaulting—the quire of the cathedral being vaulted between 1099 and 1104, and the nave between 1128 and 1133. Sir Thomas Jackson's book reopens the question, which may yet need further elucidation and argument before it is finally settled and universal agreement reached.

A. V.

ENGLISH COURT HAND, A.D. 1066 TO 1500. Illustrated chiefly from the public records. By CHARLES JOHNSON and HILARY JENKINSON. Vol. I, Text: 10×6½, xlviii+250 pp. Vol II, Plates: 20½×15½, 44 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915. 2 vols. 25s. n. or separately: vol. I, 10s. 6d. n.; vol. II, 21s. n.

These volumes deserve the heartiest of welcomes alike from the palaeographer and from the student of original documents to whom their palaeography is, comparatively speaking, a matter of secondary importance. One of the compilers of the present work, Mr. Jenkinson, has shown us in a previous essay what differences may exist in the handwriting of mediaeval documents composed during the same period and within a short distance of each other. He now essays with the aid of Mr. Johnson, one of his colleagues in the Public Record office, to trace the progress of the formal and more or less stereotyped style of writing which, taking its original shape, like the common forms of legal documents for which it was used, amid the procedure of mediaeval law-courts, is distinguished as court hand from the book hand employed by the writers and transcribers of manuscripts in

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monasteries and other seats of learned leisure. The work covers a more limited period than Wright's *English Court-Hand Restored* and other volumes familiar to the student, but it covers that period with more thoroughness and with a more complete scholarly equipment than earlier works. As 'a good practice-book for the student and a convenient collection of material for the teacher,' to quote the modest words of the introduction, it is unlikely to be superseded.

The compilers have provided the teacher and pupil with a series of photographic reproductions of examples covering a period from about 1070 to 1501, which form the volume of plates and are arranged in chronological order. The greater part of the volume of text (pp. 79–250) is devoted to fully extended transcripts of the documents illustrated, each of which is preceded by a general note upon the handwriting of the original and its classification, and by further comment upon the formation of individual letters, the use of abbreviations, ligatures and stops, and upon occasional peculiarities which call for notice. These elucidations are prefaced by a treatise on the history of individual letters, illustrated by a carefully prepared set of facsimiles to show the development in the court hand form of each of the letters of the alphabet, for which it is justly claimed that they 'are on a scale and of an accuracy which have not been attempted before.' The object and scope of the work are thus strictly limited to the evolution of one particular type of handwriting: the development of 'book hand,' and that part of the subject itself, save in so far as it is related to the earlier forms of court hand, are left untouched. While any attempt to trace the history of abbreviations of words is strictly avoided, fourteen pages of the introduction contain a short practical discussion of this subject and a list of ordinary contractions, the brevity of which is in inverse proportion to its excellence and representative value. Dictionaries of abbreviations, as the compilers point out, have obvious disadvantages, and a list such as is given here is of more profit to the beginner than many dictionaries. The introduction is marked throughout by pregnancy and power of compression: the three pages of hints on transcription, for example, cover most of the errors which, especially in the case of proper names, may be fatal to the most careful transcribers, and are not unknown, it may be remarked in passing, even in official calendars of historical documents. In addition to these and other general remarks, the introduction provides a useful bibliography and a conspectus of documents from which the plates have been selected.

The plates themselves, which have been made as large as possible with only very slight reductions, where necessary, in the size of the handwriting, are admirably clear and afford no cause for the reproach, often incurred justly by reproductions of manuscripts, that they are more difficult to read than their originals. Although their editors disclaim any endeavour to have chosen examples of special historical or artistic value, their presentation of 'specimens of the average humdrum material of historical research' is attractive enough to give even the stranger to such material some idea of the peculiar charm which it exercises over its devotees. The collection, moreover, of so large a number of specimen documents, eighty-two in all, from the most representative sources, charters, pipe rolls, patent and close rolls, plea rolls, charter rolls, etc., has a double value in addition

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to its specifically palaeographical interest. A beginner who masters the contents of these plates with the aid of the full and accurate transcripts provided will find himself in a fair way to deal intelligently and independently with original documents belonging to these various classes and to others not represented here; while the ordinary student of history who, with small opportunities for original research, has largely to depend upon the labour of others for his information, will be happy in the possession of a book which gives so comprehensive an object-lesson in the nature of the documentary sources of English history.

At a time when the custody and preservation of records is something of a burning question, it is gratifying to find work of so thoroughly competent and scholarly a character proceeding from two of the assistants in the Public Record office. Their work, by its exhibition of actual examples of the documents under their care, cannot but have the effect of spreading more widely the knowledge of the unparalleled value of the treasures of that great storehouse of the materials of national and local history. Their claim is perhaps too exclusive when they say that 'no other repository in this country possesses unbroken series of homologous documents stretching from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the nineteenth, or from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the present day.' A modest exception might be made in favour of the great series of episcopal registers at York and Lincoln, which are, it is true, not absolutely unbroken, but with comparatively slight intervals are continuous from the first quarter of the thirteenth century and afford abundant opportunities for the study of the progress of a secretarial handwriting hardly to be differentiated from court hand during most of the period covered by these volumes. The student will gratefully remember that it is also to one of the officials of the Record office that he owes the late Mr. C. Trice Martin's *Record Interpreter*. The primary object of that book was different from that pursued by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jenkinson; the two works are complementary to one another, his as an aid to the interpretation of records, theirs as a study in their formal characteristics. While they lay stress upon the empirical rather than the scientific nature of their conclusions, and while it is possible that those conclusions may be modified in some degree by future writers, their labours must inevitably form the starting-point for any stricter investigation of a similar kind.

The printing of the text throughout is as free from errors as we should expect of writers so cautious, accurate, and well-informed as Mr. Johnson and his colleague. If they have any fault, it is the too conscientious purism which induces them to such practices as the use of the unfamiliar *mesnagium* instead of *mesuagium* and the consistent latinisation of place-names whose declensions the original compilers of these documents, especially in the later middle ages, did not trouble to consider. To the list of Latin glossaries in the bibliography might have been added that of Maigne d'Arnis, published in connexion with Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, which is more easily procurable by the student than the more voluminous and valuable Du Cange; while, among the smaller hand-books of chronology, Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History* should not be omitted where Bond's *Handy Book* finds a place.

A. H. T.

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MEMORIALS AND MONUMENTS, OLD AND NEW: TWO HUNDRED SUBJECTS CHOSEN FROM SEVEN CENTURIES. By LAWRENCE WEAVER. 9×6, 479 pp. 258 illustrations. London: Country Life, 1915.

Mr. Lawrence Weaver has to a large extent broken new ground in giving us this portly and well illustrated volume. His object is 'to provide an historical account of the development of those types of memorials which are the most suitable for present use' . . . 'to focus attention on good examples, old and new,' and to save our churches, churchyards, cemeteries and public buildings from the melancholy disfigurement that followed in the wake of the South African war. Mr. Weaver fears, not without reason, that this disfigurement may be repeated, on an altogether vaster scale, as a result of the present world-wide conflict, and such a book as this not only meets a want, but its avowed aim should heartily commend it to antiquaries, architects, the clergy and people of cultivated taste.

In a field so vast it is inevitable that many omissions must suggest themselves to the critical eye. Why is no mention made of such magnificent early Gothic monuments as those of Aymer de Valence, Edmund Crouchback and Aveline countess of Lancaster, in the sacrarium of Westminster abbey? or that noble series of tombs, contemporary or slightly later, representing the climax of Gothic art in Winchelsea church, Sussex? or a hundred other peerless triumphs, the joint creative labour of artist, sculptor and stonemason? They rise before one's mental vision in serried ranks, those canopied recumbent praying figures of man and woman, child, warrior, great lady, ecclesiastic, king and queen; at Canterbury, Winchester, Salisbury, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Lincoln, Ely, Wells and numberless cathedral, conventual, collegiate and parish churches. Can we beat such works for beauty to-day? And then there are the brasses: Mr. Weaver might perhaps have dealt more fully with some of the lovely *ancient* examples, so well worth study and adaptation to modern needs.

This is, in fact, the weak side of an otherwise admirable book, that it suggests a bias in favour of renaissance, classical, and even 'new art,' to the neglect of the Gothic school of monumental sculpture and design. Similarly, such a beautiful, simple and inexpensive memorial as the stone or marble coffin-slab might well have been illustrated and commended. Why should it be tacitly assumed that Gothic art is dead, or outworn, and that the classical styles, with their modern developments, are, for practical purposes, alone worth going to for inspiration by our latter-day designers. If one may judge merely by the enormous preponderance of illustrations in this book that may be classed under the latter headings, that would appear to represent Mr. Weaver's conscious or unconscious conclusion.

What, for example, could be more charming, natural, and suitable to a Gothic church of fourteenth-century style than the monument (illustrated on p. 183) of the Hon. Francis Meynell, with its ogee crocketed canopy and the dignified figure in court dress kneeling at a faldstool? And what, *per contra*, more oddly inappropriate than the bust of Bodley, one of the most eminent of our neo-Gothic architects, set in an elaborate Jacobean monument of alabaster and coloured marbles, with the inevitable pagan obelisks crowning the entablature?[1] Bodley's own work, in fifteenth-

[1] Evidently inspired by Shakespeare's monument at Stratford-on-Avon, but not a happy instance of adaptation.

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century style (p. 193), is a sufficient refutation of the modern heresy that Gothic art is inapplicable to wall-tablets. Perhaps Sir Thomas Jackson's similar tablet design (p. 195) is hardly so successful, with its eruption of paterae, and others of this school, like Sir Robert Lorimer's designs (pp. 233, 245, 313), are too strongly tinged with the weird fancies of the 'new art' nightmare to be pleasing to a sober taste. What could be more beautiful and satisfying than the South African memorial at York, as an outdoor memorial (G. F. Bodley, p. 385), founded as it is on the Eleanor crosses of the late thirteenth century, but translated into a later phase of our national Gothic? Excellent old examples of Gothic wall-memorials are given on pp. 35 and 37. It seems allowable to enumerate these examples, because they not unfairly represent the somewhat meagre selection of Gothic that Mr. Weaver allows us. In chap. xiii he gives some excellent ancient and modern graveyard crosses, but none of the characteristic Irish specimens, marvels of beauty.

The very much larger number of renaissance and classical monuments which are set before us are, in their different way, full of instruction and interest, though often unconscious witnesses of what to avoid. Among the ancient, Torrigiano's gorgeous tomb of Henry VII, dated 1517 (p. 307), in black marble and gilt bronze, can hold its own with anything modern in the same class and style. So will the similar monument by the same artist, put up some seven years earlier in Westminster abbey, to Margaret Beaufort.

The examples of seventeenth-century wall-tablets and monuments of more elaborate design, chiefly from Westminster abbey and London churches (Chelsea, Cripplegate, etc.), and some few from the provinces, as e.g. Robert Aldworth's tomb in St. Peter's, Bristol, are exceedingly good and interesting renaissance work. One misses any reference to such fine things as the monuments at Sanderstead and Horsham, and the series of the Evelyn family at Wotton, Surrey, but it is impossible to mention a tithe of the many beautiful examples, early and late, which our ancient churches afford. Nicholas Stone's legacy of work comes in for due notice and praise; so does the magnificent figure-sculpture of Flaxman and Chantrey. Mr. Weaver gives us many modern works in a style of their own. The chapters on the use of heraldry, lettering, outdoor memorials, and tablets for historical buildings, are well done and most useful.

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF SUSSEX, with the Inscriptions of all the Bells in the County in 1864, and a jubilee article thereon written in 1914. By AMHERST D. TYSSEN. 8¾×5¾, 215 pp. 51 illustrations. Lewes: Farncombe & Co. 1915. (Reprinted from vols. lxvii and xvi of the *Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections*.)

It is not often given to a man to produce a jubilee edition of his own work, and Dr. Tyssen's must be almost a unique performance. He was the first to bring out a complete description of the bells of an English county (Lukis' *Wilts.* in 1857 was only a partial account of that county),

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and he has now been given the opportunity to use the labours of his fellow-workers during the intervening fifty years. The original book of 1864 was in its way a *tour de force*, written as it was by a young man (we believe Dr. Tyssen was then at Oxford) setting out to explore a virgin territory; and it is remarkable that so much which he then wrote still holds good. After fifty years Dr. Tyssen's hand has not lost its cunning, and while he naturally owes much to other writers, he has contributed much new and original matter.

This new edition deals mainly with the mediaeval bells, which, from the problems they present to investigators, are naturally of more interest than those of later date. Most of the mediaeval bells in Sussex are the work of London founders, and here Dr. Tyssen has had the advantage of the late J. C. L. Stahlschmidt's labours; but though in the main accepting Stahlschmidt's results, he has some interesting and almost revolutionary theories of his own to propound. The most startling is the dispossession of Henry Jordan, whom most writers have regarded as the maker of a large and widely-distributed group of bells, distinguished by two trade-marks known as the 'cross-keys' and 'banner' shields. Dr. Tyssen brings forward several ingenious arguments for assigning these to one William Chamberlain, of whom indeed we know little. We are not sure that he has proved his case, but at all events the argument for placing these bells earlier than the wars of the Roses (the time of Jordan's activity) carries much weight. We have also new views on the bells assigned to Walgrave, Crouch, and Danyell, all London founders of the fifteenth century, which are worked out with remarkable skill and knowledge. But unfortunately space forbids us to discuss these questions in detail.

The full discussion of the mediaeval bells and their founders is followed by some notes contributing more up-to-date information about the post-Reformation bells, and an interesting description of the method of casting bells and the imprinting of the inscriptions. An entirely new feature, raising some points of interest, is the table, which must have entailed immense labour to compile, of the number of bells cast all over England in each year between 1560 (when bells first began regularly to be dated) and 1860. The historical events of each year are also noted, the author's object being to show how far these affected the industry. Except for the time of the Civil wars (1644 to 1649), when hardly any bells were cast in England, little difference seems to be observable. But one curious result of these researches is to show that during three centuries the most prolific years are 1624, 1723, and 1824, and next to these, 1636 and 1737.

The illustrations reproduced from the old edition are supplemented by some useful plates of the lettering on the mediaeval bells; these are very welcome, as previous writers have for some reason neglected to give the same attention to the forms of letters, capital or small, which they have paid to the initial crosses, trade-marks, and other stamps.

In one respect the book might have been improved, namely by some notes (if a full list were impossible) on the changes in Sussex belfries during the last fifty years. Some of the old bells of which Dr. Tyssen writes, e.g. those at Findon, Fittleworth, Pevensey, Rotherfield, and doubtless other places, have now gone into the melting-pot, and in many other cases the rings of bells have been enlarged or renewed. Some mention might also have been made of Mr. Garraway Rice's discovery, recently con-

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tributed to the Sussex Archaeological Society, that the well-known founder, Samuel Knight, spent some time at Arundel when he left Reading about 1705, and that the Samuel Knight who subsequently worked in London (1720 to 1738) was not this man but his son.

H. B. W.

A PICTURE BOOK OF BRITISH HISTORY. Vol. ii, 1485–1688. By S. C. Roberts. 13½ × 10½, xii + 70 pp. 200 illustrations. Cambridge University Press, 1915. 3s. 6d. n.

Mr. Roberts has already given proof of his skill and judgment in the selection of historical illustration in the first volume of this picture book. In the present volume, the material for which is much more abundant, he must have exercised considerable self-restraint amid the variety of contemporary sources of which he has made use. The result is a series of pictures, several of which are familiar but none hackneyed by constant repetition, arranged in thirty-four sections, each with a clearly defined heading, and supplemented by brief and interesting notes. Where several illustrations have to be brought together on a single page, clearness of detail must occasionally be sacrificed; but this is only now and then the case, and the excellence of the reproduction of such portraits as that of Henry VIII, attributed to L. Hornebolt, the print of the Marian martyrs called 'Faiths victorie in Romes crueltie,' and the engraving of the portrait of Hampden, at Port Eliot, deserves the highest praise. The book is especially rich in well-chosen portraits and pictures of historical groups, and some of these, particularly the marriage-feast of Sir Henry Unton and the picture at Holyrood of the young James VI and the Lennox family at the tomb of Darnley, are well calculated to excite the curiosity and interest of the young student for whom they are intended. The architectural illustrations are chiefly taken from photographs. Of the five depicting Tudor architecture and the early renaissance, the beautiful spire of Louth church, although built in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, has nothing about it which is characteristically Tudor, and we should prefer to see in its place a photograph of some such early Tudor house as Compton Wynyates or East Barsham. The renaissance detail of the Salisbury chantry-chapel at Christchurch is too delicate to be effective in a small illustration: Gardiner's tomb-chapel at Winchester, though later in date, would have conveyed the lesson of Gothic construction with subsidiary renaissance ornament more successfully in the same space. The seven illustrations of Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture include Moreton old hall and the market-hall at Ledbury as examples of timber building: Wollaton, Blickling and Holland house are the noblemen's palaces selected; while the Schools tower at Oxford and the Banqueting hall at Whitehall offer a contrast between picturesque pseudo-classical work and the genuine architecture of the renaissance. Wren is represented by Temple bar, St. Mary-le-Bow, the Monument and Trinity college library at Cambridge, while his chapel at Pembroke college, Cambridge, is well shown in a good reproduction of Loggan's view of the college, illustrating the subject of education under the Stewarts. The notes are printed in a bold and attractive type, and necessary facts and dates are given briefly and accurately. It is perhaps

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too sweeping a generalisation to say that 'practically no churches were built in England' between 1539 and the time of Wren. St. John's, Leeds, is cited in a note as the chief exception, but there was more building and rebuilding in country places during the interval than is often recognised, and the Gothic work of the first half of the seventeenth century still awaits its historian. To speak of the Salisbury chapel at Christchurch as a 'chapel or chantry' is somewhat misleading. Henry VII's chapel, illustrated on the same page, may equally be called a chantry. A chantry is primarily a service, and not a building, and the use of the word, as applied to a building in which a chantry was founded, while it has tended to obscure the original meaning, is not exclusively applicable to any special architectural type.

A. H. T.

BRISTOL MERCHANT MARKS. By ALFRED E. HUDD, F.S.A. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, vol. vii. Bristol: Georges Sons.

A valuable and important addition to our knowledge of these marks. Mr. Hudd has illustrated and described no fewer than 483 examples ranging in date from 1284 to 1635, all from Bristol deeds, and the paper may be compared with that published many years ago by the late Mr. C. Muskett on the Norwich marks, the only other paper dealing with marks in a given district. Comparatively few examples have come down to us on buildings, monuments, portraits, or in glass, etc. and it is to the deeds and seals that we have to look for new light to clear up many still doubtful points. The labour of going through masses of deeds is great, and all antiquaries are indebted to Mr. Hudd for the time and labour he has spent on these Bristol examples. In the introduction Mr. Hudd briefly sums up the story of the marks and gives a list of the collections of deeds from which his examples have been drawn. Looking through the illustrations one is struck by the number of combinations it is possible to make out of a simple device like a cross and streamers, which forms the basis for most of these marks.

M. S.

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# SEVENTY-THIRD REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

## For the Year 1914.

The Council have the honour to present to the members of the Institute their report for the year 1914.

Although its effects are as yet hardly reflected in the working of the Institute, the European war must necessarily influence its fortunes. It has delayed the issue of the *Journal*, it has interrupted for the time being, at any rate, the flow of subscriptions from public libraries abroad, it has led to some resignations, and it has diverted the interest and the activities of archaeological workers.

Its effects in 1915 will most probably be far more marked, and the Council feel the need of prudence in finance and the importance of the co-operation of its members in an endeavour to make the work of the Institute more widely known.

From the accounts, which are appended, it will be seen that the total receipts for the year amount to £758 1s. 9d, while the expenditure incurred was £546 16s. 10d.

The securities now standing in the names of the trustees are set forth n the balance sheet.

The sum of £11 6s. 0d. has been granted towards research during the year.

The senior Vice-President, Mr. Mill Stephenson, B.A. F.S.A. retires by rotation, and the Council recommend that Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A. F.S.A. be appointed a Vice-President in his stead.

The members of the Council who retire in rotation are Messrs. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A; Colonel J. W. Parker, C.B. D.L. F.S.A; C. R. Peers, M.A. Sec. S.A; Walter Rowley, F.S.A. M.Inst.C.E; the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, M.A. F.S.A; and A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A. F.S.A.

To take their places the Council recommend the Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, Litt.D. F.S.A; the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A. F.S.A; M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A; Philip Norman, LL.D. F.S.A; H. Plowman, F.S.A; and Prof. E. S. Prior, M.A. A.R.A. F.S.A.

It is also recommended that Sir William St. John Hope, Litt.D. D.C.L. and Mr. A. H. Lyell, M.A. F.S.A. be appointed Director and Auditor respectively.

The loss of members during the period under review by resignation is fifteen, and by death five, of whom two were life-compounders. Four libraries have ceased to subscribe. Twenty-five new members have been elected, and four libraries have been added to the list, making a net increase of five members and subscribers.

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# THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

## BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1914.

*Dr.* *Cr.*

### LIABILITIES.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| To PUBLISHING ACCOUNT Printing Journal ... ... ... | | 200 0 0 |
| „ SUBSCRIPTION ACCOUNT Subscriptions received in advance for 1915 ... ... ... ... ... | | 5 5 0 |
| „ SURPLUS ... ... ... ... ... | | 3,420 6 10 |
| | | £3,625 11 10 |

### ASSETS.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| BY INVESTMENTS AT COST | | |
| £1,500 Metropolitan Consolidated 2½% Stock ... ... ... ... | 1,298 5 6 | |
| £1,600 London County Consolidated 3% Stock ... ... ... ... | 1,342 9 6 | |
| £500 Queensland 3% Stock ... ... | 435 12 6 | |
| | | 3,076 7 6 |
| NOTE.—There was no official market quotations for these securities on 31st December, 1914. | | |
| „ CASH | | |
| At bankers ... ... ... ... | 540 17 6 | |
| In hand ... ... ... ... ... | 9 0 0 | |
| | | 549 4 4 |
| | | £3,625 11 10 |

We have examined the Income and Expenditure and Cash Accounts and Balance Sheet, and in our opinion the same are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the Institute's financial position, according to the best of our information, and as shown by the books of the Institute.

H. MILLS BRANFORD & CO.
*Chartered Accountants.*

*3 Broad Street Buildings,*
*London, E.C. March 22nd, 1915.*

Examined and found correct,

H. PLOWMAN,
*Honorary Auditor.*

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# THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

## CASH ACCOUNT FROM 1ST JANUARY TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1914.

*Cr.* *Dr.*

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| To BALANCE ... ... ... ... ... | | 332 9 5 |
| „ SUBSCRIPTION ACCOUNT | | |
| 386 subscriptions @ 21s. for 1914 ... | 405 6 0 | |
| 5 subscriptions paid in advance for 1915 | 5 5 0 | |
| | 410 11 0 | |
| Entrance fees ... ... ... ... | 26 5 0 | |
| | | 436 13 0 |
| Life compositions ... ... ... | | 15 15 0 |
| „ DONATIONS ... ... ... ... | | 6 12 5 |
| „ SALE OF PUBLICATIONS ... ... ... | | 160 9 7 |
| „ SUNDRY RECEIPTS | | |
| Including profit on meetings in 1914 ... | | 10 19 0 |
| „ INTEREST ACCOUNT | | |
| Interest on investments* ... ... | 102 8 4 | |
| Interest on deposit ... ... ... | 5 9 2 | |
| Income Tax refunded ... ... ... | 19 12 3 | |
| | | 127 9 9 |
| | | £1,090 11 2 |

* Of this sum £8 8s. 10d. represents interest on the Bunnell Lewis Trust.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| BY PUBLISHING ACCOUNT | | |
| Printing Journal, vol. lxx (1913), pts. 2, 3 and 4, and lxxi, pt. 1, short copies, delivery and postage ... | 291 6 9 | |
| Preparation of illustrations ... ... | 62 13 4 | |
| | | 354 0 1 |
| „ WORKING EXPENSES | | |
| Rent, lighting and cleaning ... ... | 22 4 10 | |
| Insurance... ... ... ... ... | 3 3 | |
| | | 22 8 1 |
| „ ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT | | |
| Secretary's Salary ... ... ... | 100 0 0 | |
| Printing, typing and stationery ... | 18 1 5 | |
| Postage, parcels and telegrams ... | 16 4 10 | |
| Lanternist ... ... ... ... | 3 3 0 | |
| Binding and cases for Journal ... | 7 0 | |
| Congress of Archaeological Societies ... | 1 0 0 | |
| Sundries ... ... ... ... ... | 14 16 5 | |
| | | 153 12 8 |
| „ GRANTS | | |
| Glastonbury abbey excavation fund | 2 2 0 | |
| Avebury excavation fund ... .. | 2 2 0 | |
| Meare lake-village excavation fund ... | 2 2 0 | |
| Canterbury, St. Augustine's College excavation fund... ... ... ... | 5 0 0 | |
| | | 11 6 0 |
| „ BALANCE | | |
| At Bank ... ... ... ... ... | 540 4 4 | |
| In hand ... ... ... ... ... | 9 0 0 | |
| | | 549 4 4 |
| | | £1,090 11 2 |

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# THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FROM 1ST JANUARY TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1914.

*Dr.* *Cr.*

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| To STOCK, Blocks and Journal (1 Jan. 1914) | | 10 0 0 |
| „ PUBLISHING ACCOUNT | | |
| Printing Journal, short copies, delivery and postage ... ... ... | 285 6 9 | |
| Preparation of illustrations ... ... | 62 13 4 | |
| | | 348 0 1 |
| „ WORKING EXPENSES | | |
| Rent, lighting and cleaning ... ... | 22 4 10 | |
| Insurance ... ... ... ... | 3 3 | |
| | | 22 8 1 |
| „ ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT | | |
| Secretary's Salary ... ... ... | 100 0 0 | |
| Printing, typ.ng and stationery ... | 18 1 5 | |
| Postage, parcels and telegrams ... | 16 4 10 | |
| Lanternist ... ... ... ... | 3 3 0 | |
| Binding and cases for Journal ... | 7 0 | |
| Congress of Archaeological Societies | 1 0 0 | |
| Sundries ... ... ... ... | 26 6 5 | |
| | | 165 2 8 |
| „ GRANTS | | |
| Glastonbury abbey excavation fund ... | 2 2 0 | |
| Avebury excavation fund ... ... | 2 2 0 | |
| Meare lake-village excavation fund .. | 2 2 0 | |
| Canterbury, St. Augustine's College excavation fund ... ... ... | 5 0 0 | |
| | | 11 6 0 |
| „ BALANCE ... ... ... ... ... | | 201 4 11 |
| | | £758 1 9 |

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| BY SUBSCRIPTION ACCOUNT | | |
| 5 subscriptions @ 21s. paid in advance in 191 3... ... ... | 5 5 0 | |
| 386 subscriptions @ 21s. paid in 1914 | 405 6 0 | |
| | 410 11 0 | |
| Entrance fees ... ... ... ... | 26 5 0 | |
| | | 436 16 0 |
| Life compositions ... ... ... | | 15 15 0 |
| „ DONATIONS ... ... ... ... | | 6 12 5 |
| „ SALE OF PUBLICATIONS ... ... ... | | 160 9 7 |
| „ SUNDRY RECEIPTS | | |
| Including profit on meetings in 1914 ... | | 10 19 0 |
| „ INTEREST ACCOUNT | | |
| Interest on investments* ... ... | 102 8 4 | |
| Interest on deposit ... ... ... | 5 9 2 | |
| Income Tax refunded ... ... | 19 12 3 | |
| | | 127 9 9 |

* Of this sum £8 3s. 10d. represents interest on the Bunnell Lewis Trust.

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